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Author: J. A. Diening

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CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE DUTCH TO THE CULTURAL ENRICHMENT OF CANADA

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Joseph A. Diening

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* Statistical reference material and bibliography forthcoming soonest, this Index will then be completed.

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PRELIMINARY REMARKS

1. For some time the author of this essay pondered the question whether he should write in the first person singular, the first person plural or in the neutral third person style. As in this essay objective reporting on the results of the study undertaken is supplemented by personal remarks of the author, the first person singular has been selected, thus avoiding the somewhat stilted "pluralis majestatis" as well as the unwieldy third person.

2. As I tried to explain during the briefing meetings in Ottawa, the group behaviour -if such behaviour exists at all as far as the Dutch are concerned- and in any case the behaviour of individual Dutch, seems to follow a pattern, which appears to be different from the behaviour of other ethnic groups.

During one of the meetings I used the expression: "The Dutch do not integrate or assimilate; they rather evaporate". In that meeting's minutes (page 11) I have been quoted as having said: "They merge completely". I feel, after all, that neither one of these terms depict the behaviour of the Dutch correctly in every respect.

For this reason I have started this essay with the endeavor to produce -in broad outlines- a sketch of the Dutch "character". By so doing I felt more capable to explain more clearly in a later phase of this essay, WHY the Dutch act and react, or abstain from acting or reacting, either in certain cases, or in general.

3. I have found it necessary to put in more time and effort than an essay of this nature would have seemed to call for on first sight. Books and, more generally, literature of any kind on this subject, is relatively scarce and repetitive in more than one respect. Therefore the need was felt to go into lengthy discussions of the topic with persons who could be expected to be able to help verify the findings and conclusions shown in this essay.

The opinion on "Dutch culture" in connection to Dutch emigrants, which I had before starting this essay, has been proven to be in need of correction and, in many respects, of complete revision. This was one of the primary results of the aforementioned discussions.

As a personal venture this essay therefore brought me some major disappointments and leaves me an author with more humility and with a more realistic outlook on the representation of the Dutch cultural heritage by Dutch emigrants, than I would have cared to admit to half a year ago.

4. For these reasons, having gone over the entire matter again and again, I feel very dissatisfied with the end result, if not embarrassed because of the fact that we, the Dutch, are failing so mani-

festly in leaving a clean, clear "Dutch-cultural" imprint on Canadian life.

As we can not state in all fairness that no specific cultural pattern exists in The Netherlands, we must conclude further, that the Dutch emigrant in general either had no part in Dutch cultural life when in the home land, or -if he did have such part- that his first years (3? 5? 10? more?) in Canada would not permit him to give any attention to things cultural as the struggle for life keeps him too busy and in short supply of cash and leisure time. "Primum vivere---"

5. Of course, exceptions can be found. They are represented by a number of die hards, who either try to enthuse their co-patriots and incite them to take part in things cultural and who, doing so, have to overcome mountains of silent and stubborn resistance--- or of a number of individualists, who do not care to enter into the lime light and who, silent and solitary, enjoy such cultural values as they find available, not bothering to make others join them in any number.

6. I have even tried to answer the question: "Do I still know enough about The Netherlands and the Dutch after almost 6 years in Canada and after a previous period in Europe of about 15 years, during which I either was living in Switzerland or abroad while travelling extensively?"

The answer is -I believe in all honesty- that I still know the Dutch through and through and that, if it were true that today's Dutch have changed considerably over the last 2 or 3 years, during which an

economic boom developed, the impact of such change on the Canadian reality through the Dutch emigrant could not yet be in sight. Moreover, emigration from The Netherlands to Canada has slowed down to a mere trickle (2,500 in 1965). Therefore such influence must be considered neglegible.

For these reasons I must conclude that I am reporting fairly and truly what experience, research and general know-how offered for the purpose of this essay.

The completed picture, then, is a poor one, the realism of which -I am sorry to say- has been confirmed many times over by Dutch personalities who know the situation from practice and have known it for a long time past.

7. It is a pleasure to give thanks for all help and assistance I was fortunate enough to enjoy from the side of:

a) the Royal Netherlands Embassy, Ottawa, especially from Mr C. Bellaar Spruyt, Councillor for Cultural Affairs and Press and Mr F. Jensma, Vice-Consul for Emigration Affairs;

b) the Netherlands Consulate-General, Toronto, especially from Dr D.A. van Hamel, Consul General, Mr J.L.H. Bezems, Consul and Ir. B.W. Hartung van Ark, Emigration Affairs.

All available documentation on the topic of this essay has been lent to me both by the Embassy and the Consulate General.

The gentlemen mentioned assisted and encouraged me in every possible way.

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1. THE DUTCH

1-1 The People

"DELTA" is a quarterly review, published by the Delta International Publication Foundation, Amsterdam, The Netherlands. It presents itself as "a review of arts, life and thought in The Netherlands" and is, in my opinion, one of the finest efforts in its field.

In the Winter 1964-1965 issue, page 5 starts a feature which is introduced to the readership as follows:

THE FAULT OF THE DUTCH: A POLL

"What have you got against the Dutch?" Last spring the editors of Delta put this question to a clutch of Dutchmen and Dutchwomen, most of them prominent in literature and the arts, asking them to give their unvarnished answers in twohundred words or less. The responses, the bulk of which met both requirements, are printed here in the arbitrary order of the alphabet, together with a brief afterword by Han Lammers (born 1931), a journalist whose writings sometimes suggest that he himself has a great deal against his countrymen. A few of the answers were in English; most were translated by Elizabeth Willems-Treeman.

Some thirty frank answers to the question are printed in full, the shortest of which tells a long story.

Adrien Morrien, born 1912, author, translator and critic wrote:

"My only objection to the Dutch is, that they don't live somewhere else".

Han Lammers in his "Afterword" tries to synthesize the answers received and to formulate so much as "the common opinion" to be extracted therefrom. Here is what he found as the highest common denominators:

the Dutch are a dull, virtuous, divided, conceited people, without a truly national culture. (Page 23)

This sounds like a clear case of self-indictment. Lammers explains it:

"To understand why the series could be collected and published with relative ease, the reader must know that self-criticism in the Netherlands is a common, indeed fashionable, phenomenon. Someone once said that all the Dutch, whether they be Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, or atheist, are at heart pure Calvinists. To some extent that is true.

In this country more than elsewhere Calvinism has been assimilated into the national character. The average Dutchman has within him something of Calvinism's arch-pessimistic image of man as 'inclined to evil'. And it is but one step from there to authentic selfcondemnation".

It is often said, that the Dutch people are individualists. There are between 70 and 80 religious denominations. Daily and weekly newspapers can be counted by the dozens. A minimum of 5 different radio and television stations (broadcasting corporations) is regularly on the air. We have known the times when more than 50 political parties tried to win the voters' support. It should not be forgotten that we are talking about a population which only very recently surpassed the 12 million mark ---

Firmness -a virtue the Dutch like to claim particularly- has more

than often demonstrated itself as pig-headedness rather than as a stubborness born of principle.

"Only a relatively small minority offered the resistance (during the Second World War) that might have been expected from the vast majority on the basis of the avowed national characteristics. From this experience we have retained a fairly well sublimated guilt complex. That may be one of the reasons why today, by fits and starts, we behave so conspicuously anti-German" (page 23)

Theun de Vries (born 1907) a well-known novelist, answered the question as follows:

"What have you got against the Dutch? An historically determined individualism too easily leads the Dutch to view their fellow men with indifference. Self-interest, another instinct of historical origin, often goes hand in hand with selfishness and a painful cynicism about money, as the post-war attitude of many Dutchmen, eager to do business with the Germans, indicates.

"Where three Dutchmen gather together, they establish a new sect, which splits itself into two new, mutually hostile sects as soon as three converts have been made. The same is true of political parties, which goes to demonstrate how naive large numbers of the Dutch still are in matters of politics.

"But as soon as great and serious danger threatens the country, the Dutch immediately join hands; in general disasters they are concerned with neither colour nor belief, but help each other like children of one family; in times of ordeal they stand -with the usual and few exceptions- brave and steadfast side by side.

"In the last analysis a Dutchman can wish only to be a Dutchman".

The editors, in their "Editorial View", a foreword to this issue of "Delta", explain:

"The fault of the Dutch, George Canning said a century and a half ago, is giving too little and asking too much".

In the Dutch mind, however, this constitutes proof of an ability to do business anytime, anywhere, with anybody."

The poll should be read; the answers provided give a fairly correct insight into the Dutch character.

A Spanish diplomat, who served as Ambassador to The Netherlands for quite a number of years, tried to describe the Dutch. He complained that, no matter what he tries, a final and clear cut conclusion seems to escape him time after time. He finds so many characteristics and at the same time, their very opposites in the Dutch, that his only way out consists of a listing of these characteristics, which leave him baffled after all.

The issue of "Delta" mentioned as well as the Ambassador's essay are annexed to this essay.

All in all: it seems to be very difficult to come up with a description of the Dutch personality without contradicting any particular statement made in the effort.

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1-2 Dutch Culture ?

Han Lammers (Delta, page 24) winds up his assessment of the answers, received in the poll, as follows:

"... the Dutch are committed in advance to disagree among themselves,

whether the disagreement stems from genuine individualism or not. A neat rationalization for this has been concocted: isolation is power. Having originated in conservative Protestant circles, this maxim has found quite general acceptance. Indeed, one can even hear members of socialist splintergroups use it to shore up their shaky positions.

It is evident that a situation like this can produce little that resembles a common culture. In the Netherlands such a culture is almost entirely lacking. What passes here for the common cultural heritage has really become that quite artificially.

Truly national poets, whose words are on the tip of everybody's tongue, do not exist, nor is there a national composer. Perhaps the painters and one or two architects come off best, but their figures are shoved to the background by the absolutely interminable range of parochial artists, large and small. In the long run a mass medium such as television may bring some change.

Yet one should not be hopeful, for the Dutch do not generally look at or listen to things they have traditionally been taught to regard as strange or foreign. Except when they get a whiff of material gain.

One may think of this what one will. In any event the trait has made us a curious pack of people. Anyone who does not wish to believe as much, need only look at the various usages of the word "Dutch" in any English dictionary".

I share the views of this author in their overall tendency. It is true indeed that the great poets, the great painters, the great composers we claim as our national cultural heroes, have been dead for some hundreds of years and lived in a country which, geographically, was only part of the area The Netherlands cover today ---- Politically The Netherlands

constituted quite a different entity in comparison to the Kingdom of 1966.

Regrettable as it may seem, The Netherlands of our day and age can not be compared to The Netherlands of the Golden Age.

Anton van Duinkerken (born 1903) poet, essayist, professor of Dutch literature, expert on Vondel, refers especially to the elements of culture in his answer:

"Perhaps the Dutch have virtues enough, but they lack one vice: they are not frivolous. From this deficiency flow all sorts of consequences. At wedding parties too few good songs are sung. In parliamentary debates more principles are explained than jokes cracked. Paintings are not bought as decoration for the house, but as investments for the householder. Poems don't serve to glorify life, but to spawn a plethora of essays on the art of poetry. The theatre is not for performances, but for lessons in manners and morals. In churches people sing as if the important thing is to carry a heavy burden of song heavenwards at a snail's pace, and they are preached at as if none of them is capable of having one original idea about religion.

"The verses the Dutch know by heart are from the Bible. The songs they sing are few -and usually the singers don't know the words, barely even the dreary tune.

"Only with flowers can the Dutch express themselves pleasantly. On the whole they are good at flower-growing and flower-arranging. Indeed, they are so good at it we almost forget that their pleasure is not in the beauty of the flower but in the price of the bulb".

No further comment would appear needed.

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1-3 Holland itself

The flash impressions of the Dutch personality and the Dutch culture should be completed by a flash impression of the country itself.

For this a Dutch poet, P.A. de Genestet (1829-1861) should be cited. (Delta, page 24)

Such is Holland

O, land of mud and mist, where man is wet and shivers
Soaked with humidity, with damp and chilly dew,
O, land of unplumbed bogs, of roads resembling rivers,
Land of umbrellas, gout, colds, agues, toothache, flu',

O, spongy porridge-swamp; O, homeland of galoshes,
Of cobblers, toads and frogs, peat diggers, mildew, mould,
Of ducks and every bird that slobbers, sputters, splashes,
Hear the autumnal plaint of a poet with a cold.

Thanks to your clammy clime my arteries are clotted
With blood turned mud. No song, no joy, no peace for me.
You're fit for clogs alone, O land our forbears plotted
And, not at my request, extorted from the sea.

From this land comes the Dutch immigrant, farmer, craftsman, builder of dykes, fighter against the sea, individualist, with a keen eye for business, opportunist, ready to criticize everyone and everything; ready to admit that he is right always; ready to claim knowing everything --- better; not prepared to smile at himself; with the sense of humour of a wooden log but more of it; despising everything

Dutch, adoring everything foreign; expert in bickering, catankering, complaining, asserting his inalienable rights; fully aware of and reckoning with "what the others might have to say about him" when in Holland and only too often a public nuisance when abroad on a holiday; ready to throw the Good Book at anybody for principle's sake but at the same time making sure that it will hit with the bronze edge mountings first--- for efficiency's sake.

"--- giving too little and asking too much ---"

Such is the picture the poll sketches and as the answers have been given by Dutchmen, we should allow for the traditional hang towards self-castigation.

In this somber litany of self-criticism an echo resounds, born as it would seem, out of the nostalgia for and the memories of a paradise lost, a Golden Age faded, an Empire scattered; of glamour earned in adventurous living traded in for the pleasures of the bourgeois satisfait...

The Dutch -in the deepest hide-outs of their souls- seem to hanker for the revival of values and virtues of the past--- many Dutch seem to have given up hopes that such revival is possible in the homeland. They seem to need a new environment, a new challenge, a change of psychological climate, a change of pace and of onlookers.

Especially the younger set is growing more and more fidgety, feeling fenced in by too many rules and regulations which govern a welfare state and by too much safety from cradle to grave; social insurance has taken adventure out of life--- new waves of Dutch immigrants will consist of droves of younger people.

Their emigration will be an escape in a similar manner as in the

past emigration has been an escape for those who wanted to flee from the flatness of their country and the dullness of their surroundings, the criticisms of their neighbours, colleagues, families and friends---

For many emigrants their trek to other countries was nothing more than moving overseas. They tried to reestablish the traditional environment in a new country. They did not change or adapt their ways of doing things, their way of thinking. They took the old controversies with them as part of their luggage--- they were divided in Holland, they are divided over here and try to measure the new world's realities with an old world yardstick.

The Dutch are no empire builders and never have been, as will be shown in the history of Dutch emigration.

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2. HISTORY OF DUTCH EMIGRATION

2-1 Introduction

As in the list of suggested subjects the history of Dutch emigration is mentioned as well as the cultural contributions the Dutch have made to their newly chosen environment, it seems advisable to combine these two subjects into one as far as the earliest history of Dutch emigration is concerned, for the good reason that factors, present hundreds of years ago, will again become manifest in the history of the last hundred years. Together they present a more rounded off picture of the past.

It should be mentioned, however, that if we talk about "the Dutch" of the 12th and 13th centuries up to the middle of the 19th century, we are talking about people living in an area which politically and geographically was undergoing continuous changes; we are not talking of the very same political and geographic entity, called "The Netherlands" as it has been shaped after the French Revolution or rather after the secession war between Holland and Belgium in 1830.

2-2 Oldest emigration

Emigration from The Netherlands (here we should say "Holland") dates back to the 12th and 13th centuries. During this period farmers left their country, emigrating to Germany -and after 1400 to France and England- where they made it their specialty to drain the vast European marshes and to start cultivating the soil thus reclaimed for

farming purposes.

Artisans and craftsmen too moved to France and England; builders and architects went to Germany, where ample proof of their activities is still available.

During these two centuries many Dutch colonies existed in Germany, spread all over this country as it was shaped in those days. Noteworthy is the fact that in many of the areas where the Dutch settled, covenants were closed in consequence of which the Dutch-Flemish laws were declared applicable.

In the 14th and 15th centuries immigration to Germany was at a low ebb, but in the 16th and 17th centuries immigration reached another peak and it is noted that, according to the customs of that day and age, the Dutch received many "privileges".

Weavers moved to France and England as early as the 12th century. Again, in the 16th and 17th centuries, weavers and many artisans of all kinds moved to England: glass blowers, metal workers and hydraulic engineers.

After 1700 emigration comes to a standstill--- Holland enjoys its Golden Age.

The Scandinavian lands have never attracted the Dutch to any great extent. Emigration was more on an individual, rather than on a group basis. In 1516, however, a group of 24 families, 184 individuals all together, emigrated to Denmark, to the isle of Amager near Copenhagen. They were farmers from one particular area in the province of North Holland, "Waterland". They established themselves in Hollaenderby ("Dutchmen's Village"). They, too, received all sorts of "privileges". The group increased but in later years was absorbed into the Danish

community. Their descendants are still farmers.

Apart from these examples. showing how the Dutch emigrated with the purpose of establishing themselves abroad, we should mention another phenomenon: the Dutch are and always have been great travellers.

In the 16th century one could see the Dutch flag all over the world. Due to its geographical position the Low Lands had to turn to the sea for more than one reason. Not only the fishermen were at home on the nearby seas: the Dutch were the freight carriers for many European countries and again we should point out a peculiarity which I think is very typical for Dutch behaviour when in foreign countries:

the Dutch, who established trading posts in so many foreign countries were no empire builders. Their aim in setting up establishments all over the world was: increase and consolidation of foreign trade.

In many instances (e.g. New-Amsterdam which was to become New-York) the Dutch gave up establishments as soon as they felt that immediate profit was not likely to be obtained or that substantial sums of money would be required to develop certain areas or to defend them, thus causing that many important areas were lost for future generations.

The interest in establishing themselves permanently was not very intense. For instance: when New Amsterdam was handed over to the English (1624-64) it appeared that less than 10,000 Dutch were living there--- including those, having been born in that area.

The Dutch would rather go after the Spanish Armada -again the tendency towards immediate profit or gain- than develop an area, notwithstanding its immense potential, at the cost of investments which could not be expected to give a yield immediately.

Other countries adopted a quite different policy. While during the

18th and 19th centuries emigration from Holland was insignificant, countries like Great Britain, Germany and Ireland (!) were involved in a wave of mass emigration. This fact has hampered subsequent emigration from Holland as can be illustrated by the following:

When the United States of America adopted the quota system for admission, the quota for Germany was established at 25,000; for Great Britain at 27,000 and for Holland at 1,648, later increased to 3,153 and 3,136.

This means that the Dutch quota was insignificantly small as compared to the ratio of the total population in the countries mentioned. Here lies one of the causes, that Dutch immigration into the USA suffered a serious backlag from which it was not to recover for a long time.

Apparently the Dutch of those days were not interested in emigration and they may have had some good and solid reasons as should be briefly explained.

In the Golden Age, Holland -then the Republic of the 7 Provinces- with its population of 1½ million, went through a similar phase of its development as it is going through in the last 10 or maybe 5 years. Trade and commerce were booming; labour shortage was manifest. Earnings were satisfactory at all levels of employment and in the free trade.

Emigration was full of hardship; it was a venture requiring willingness to take risks one did not need to take when staying home. Commerce and sea transport enterprises were doing extremely well. In the home country enormous profits were made with the trade in foreign and exotic products. The Dutch were great importers, exporters and transit traders. It was much nicer to return home after travels abroad, rather than stay behind in the uncertainty of an alien environment.

So, when in the 16th and 17th centuries other countries went out into the newer worlds, to establish trade posts, to build empires, to move large numbers of people to the newly won lands, the number of Dutch taking part in these ventures was neglegibly small. During the 18th century the positions gained were being consolidated and the same happened during the 19th century.

In Europe populations increased impressively. The machine era was born; transportation facilities made mass displacements possible and thus it could happen that between 1820 and 1924 about 60 million people left Europe, a genuine mass migration in which the Dutch hardly played a role.

In the 18th century Holland went through a period of flagging. The spirit of adventure, which prompted the Dutch to sail the Seven Seas, to go seek the shortest route to the legendary lands of the Eastern hemisphere, to engage in piracy, to brave nations all over the world--- this spirit waned and was replaced by attitudes we usually ascribe to the bourgeois satisfait. Trade and commerce slowed down. Around 1816, after Napoleon had set the world in turmoil and finally had disappeared definitely from the world scene, there was a short upsurge, soon to be neutralized for decennia, until 1860.

The French Occupation had left the Low Lands economically exhausted. Markets should have been wide open; agricultural products and cattle were much sought after products. In that respect the overall picture was promising. However, a period of particularly generous harvests, the closing of English, French and other markets for wheat of foreign origin and, at the same time, the flooding of The Netherlands by German and Russian agricultural products, caused the wheat prices to drop sharply.

In 1825 vast areas of land were flooded; in 1826 disease spread

among the live-stock; 1832 was the year of the Belgian Uprising which for the Belgians meant secession from the now Netherlands; cholera raged as it did in 1848; taxation pressures increased; in 1845 a disease showed up in the potato crops.

The economical situation worsened from day to day. Unemployment took on serious proportions; charity demanded heavier and heavier sums of money to assist the unfortunate: between 1841 and 1850 13 to 27 people out of 100 needed assistance.

The scene was set for emigration. Conditions in the homeland being as depicted, all risks and hazards connected with the venture of emigration seemed quite bearable and could hardly be judged worse than the conditions at home. Many people wanted to "get away from it all".

Motivation was of an economic nature.

However, economic factors were not the only ones. Religion, too, was going to play an important role.

After the struggle for freedom from Spain, which occupied the Low Lands (16th century) and tried to annihilate all influence by any other church than the Roman Catholic Church, had been won mainly through the Dutch nobility under leadership of Prince William the Silent of Orange (murdered in 1584) the Reformed Church was solidly established.

The theological revolution started in the Dutch Reformed Church, in which the main issue disputed was the problem of predestination as qualified by Calvin, a problem which later was going to be connected to political issues of various kinds.

Calvinist orthodoxy got the better hand, but when the 19th century approached, the Reformed Church in The Netherlands was coming to a period of schisms, the first of which took place in 1834 and resulted

in the establishment of the "Christian Reformed Church", to be followed in 1886 by the establishment of the "Low German Mourning Reformed Church". These two churches merged in 1892 to become the "Reformed Churches in The Netherlands" while, at the same time, a minority group, part of the secessionary group of 1834, reconstituted itself as the "Restored Christian Reformed Church".

The secession of 1834 brought much hardship to the secessionists. The Dutch Reformed Church was the official state church. Secessionists were persecuted for a number of years, boycotted by employers, threatened with dismissal from jobs; they were not allowed to gather in groups of more than 20 persons; the toughest soldiers were billeted with those families; even government stepped in and persecuted the pastors with fines and jail sentences. It took until 1848 before the storm calmed down and the secessionists were left in peace.

However, the secessionists were divided amongst themselves and thus it could happen that in the 1840's a variety of groups, led by pastors as Bolks, Scholte, van der Meulen and van Raalte emigrated to the USA and settled mainly in some eastern states (Michigan, etc.) where they established cities and towns which now belong amongst the most prosperous.

From the foregoing it will be clear that this history of religious persecution -slightly more than one hundred years ago- has left its traces on the Dutch mind and character as well as on his general approach to life, to cooperation other than in times of war and national disaster, to his settlement abroad.

Subsequent immigration to the USA and Canada has been influenced by these early settlers -and to a great degree, still is-; later emigration was going to be promoted by and moulded upon the examples

presented by these groups.

Illinois, Iowa, Michigan and Wisconsin were the states where these groups settled. A large percentage of today's population traces its origin back to the Dutch settlers.

And when the first Dutch settlers entered Canada, they did not come directly from The Netherlands --- Their forbears were North Americans for 100-150 years and had settled in the Valley of the Hudson River.

These "Dutchmen" were among the Empire Loyalists, who fled from the United States during and after the American Revolution, settled in Upper Canada and in Nova Scotia.

The overall picture of Dutch emigration before 1900 can be sketched as follows:

no group emigration of any great numerical importance, save for those who left the Low Lands for religious reasons in the middle of the 19th century. No emigration to Canada, save probably in a small number of individual cases. The only emigration from The Netherlands in the 19th century of any importance was directed at the USA.

The following figures (American source, no reliable figures from Dutch sources available) show the extent of Dutch immigration to the USA:

1830-1840	1,412	1891-1900	26,758	
1841-1850	8,251	1901-1910	48,262	
1851-1860	10,789	1911-1920	43,718	
1861-1870	9,102	1921-1930	26,948	(*)
1871-1880	16,541	1931-1940	7,150	(**)
1881-1890	53,701	1941-1950	14,860	

(*) introduction quota system

(**) economic crisis

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2-3 Emigration from The Netherlands since 1900

For years emigration from The Netherlands to destinations overseas has been far from spectacular.

Here are the main reasons why emigration as such was not very popular.

a) Emigration to the USA, having been made easier through better and cheaper transportation facilities, boomed. The USA was forced to protect itself against the consequences of floods of less acceptable elements pouring into the country, large numbers of which ended up in the poorhouses. This led to regulation of immigration through immigration acts, which required a medical examination and a test of the intellectual level of the prospective immigrant. Ellis Island was one of the products of this new development. And Ellis Island was a far cry from a welcoming committee.

b) Europe and so The Netherlands became the hunting grounds of vast numbers of agents, who tried to sell cheap sea transport, rail transport and land. Transportation indeed had become very cheap as a consequence of heavy competition between the shipping and railway companies. The agents, however, who sold land for development and cultivation and had a real field day until the outbreak of World War I, have caused a lot of people to lose money on shady land deals, in which much was promised but only little if anything proved to be realistic.

c) Dutch immigration to South America had resulted in an almost perfect disaster. Argentina and Brazil were the countries where the Dutch

tried to establish themselves. Many disappointed emigrants returned from both countries to The Netherlands and the stories they had to tell did nothing to enthuse others. A number of Dutch emigrants left Brazil and came to Canada.

d) In the years when the sea voyage was nothing less than a major adventure, only the strongest and psychologically best equipped persons could hope to brave the dangers and risks involved with some reasonable hope for success. Later, however, the voyage became less of an adventure and people without the true spirit and stamina of the pioneer were tempted to try their hand at emigration--- causing the "casualty list" to rise sharply.

Through all this, public opinion in The Netherlands did not favour emigration and the word "landverhuizer" (somebody who moves from one country to an other in a similar way as people move from one house into another) had a definite connotation of: a man more or less fleeing his country of birth, because "he was not able to make it there".

Moreover , government considered emigration a drain on manpower, originally when it took a true pioneer to make a success of himself, of the best elements and later, when emigration was made easier for the reasons shown, a drain on manpower anyhow, in a period that in the agricultural, commercial and industrial sectors the general situation was improving. Since 1895 agricultural techniques were being perfected, product prices went up and until World War I the farmer was a well to do man.

Industry developed rapidly, modernizing its methods and the demand for labour went up proportionally. Nevertheless emigration became more popular for two main reasons: increasing industrialization caused

unemployment in the long run and the conditions of living for the farm labourer were far from ideal.

Statistically this period can not be pictured very clearly:

- Dutch statistics produce figures encompassing all emigrants to "North America", thus combining USA and Canada;
- USA statistics show about double the number of immigrants to "North America" as shown in Dutch statistics;
- Canadian sources indicate that from 1900-1914 Dutch emigrants were arriving in Canada to the tune of 25 at the beginning, increasing to 1,500 per annum.

From this it is clear that:

- USA and Canadian statistics show numbers of Dutch immigrants regardless of their "last country of domicile";
- Dutch immigrants have entered the USA and Canada from other countries than The Netherlands;
- Dutch immigrants have entered Canada from the USA, their numbers appearing in earlier statistics as immigrants to the USA.

Introduction of the quota system put an end to free immigration to the USA (1921). For The Netherlands the quota of 3% of the total number of people of Dutch origin established in the USA in the year 1910, represented an immigration potential of 3,607. In 1924 this quota was decreased to 2% or 1,648 people and for 1929 this potential increased to 3,653 people due to the fact, that the quota then was established at 2% of the total of persons of Dutch origin as shown in the 1920 census.

One of the consequences was, that migration to Canada increased.

According to Canadian statistics, Dutch immigrants entered Canada in the following numbers:

1921	-	183	1925	-	1,721
1922	-	129	1926	-	2,242
1923	-	1,149	1927	-	2,465
1924	-	1,637	1928	-	2,340
			1929	-	2,458

It should be mentioned, that in the period 1923-1930 the Netherlands Minister of Internal Affairs and since 1926 his colleague of Commerce allotted funds with the purpose of subsidizing Dutch unemployed or other indigent individuals in order to enable their emigration to Canada. One of the conditions put forward by these Ministers was that the township where the prospective emigrant was living must participate in the loan to be granted. This condition proved impractical as it eliminated many prospects: in a great number of cases the township did not want to share in the risk and responsibility involved.

Emigration numbers did not increase to any degree; the funds earmarked for the purpose of boosting emigration were not fully used. Only 30% of the loans which were given out, were repaid--- mainly by those who established themselves as farmers.

In 1921 a new economic crisis became noticeable through a rapidly increasing number of unemployed. Again emigration came into focus as one of the means for alleviating this situation. The "Maatschappij voor Nijverheid en Handel" (Society for promotion of Industry and Commerce) promoted a more positive attitude of government towards emigration, for one thing by surveying the potential in a number of countries for establishment of Dutch emigrants and, further, by giving assistance in placement of emigrants through the good services of placement offices. In 1923 the "Stichting Emigratie Centrale Holland" (Central Dutch Emigration Office) was established and merged in 1931 with the "Nederlandsche Vereniging Landverhuizing" (Dutch Association

for Emigration) established in 1913, to become the "Stichting Landverhuizing Nederland" (Dutch Emigration Association) which finally -in 1953- became the "Nederlandse Emigratiedienst" (Netherlands Emigration Office).

During those years of one of the very worst economic crises the world has known, emigration came to an almost complete standstill (1930-1936). And 1933 was going to be the year in which Dutch emigration missed the boat in Canada.

It is the "Holland Marsh Story". The Holland Marsh, in the vicinity of Bradford, Ont., with an area of about 7,500 acres, promised to be an excellent object for the Dutch dirt farmer. The composition of the soil is excellent for growing potatoes and coarse vegetables like carrots, onions, endives, etc. The Toronto markets are in easy reach (60 miles distance). Thus a representative of the "Stichting Landverhuizing Nederland" in Hamilton, Ont. reported, that here was the chance of a lifetime for Dutch potato and vegetable growers. The Dutch Government accepted the conclusions of this report and declared itself willing to subsidize market gardeners who might be interested to emigrate to Canada and establish themselves in The Marsh. Canadians established a syndicate which would parcel out certain areas into 10-acre lots, build homes on those parcels and offer them for sale to prospective immigrants in Holland.

This plan was widely promoted in the Netherlands--- The prospective emigrant-farmer would have to contribute a modest amount of money. In those days this proved too heavy a handicap--- and the interest shown was practically nil !

That The Marsh after all became a "Dutch success" -at least partially- must be attributed to the fact that Dutch immigrants, having been established in Canada for a number of years, and having been facing

more or less serious financial problem situations for some time, were enabled through the cooperation of the Canadian Federal and Ontario Provincial Governments and the Dutch Government, to resettle in The Marsh and start cultivating the dirt type of soil with which they were familiar. These dirt farmers did a good job, technically as well as commercially and the 1955 flood could not hold them back very seriously.

But --- many others, from other nationalities, came to The Marsh to join in an effort, which otherwise could have become easily a typical showcase of exclusively Dutch character.

The general lack of enthusiasm for emigration in The Netherlands has to be explained mainly by the fact, that emigration was not looked upon in past years as something to be proud of. Emigration was considered a last resort type of solution for people "who were not able to make it" in the homeland. Moreover, during the crisis years emigration was one of the ways and means to get rid of a number of unemployed workers and this was the official attitude even in government circles.

The more positive approach which considers emigration as a means to alleviate the pressures caused by what is now commonly called: the population explosion, and that emigration also can enhance the image of the country of origin and therefore open up new markets for its more specialized products, was not to be found until after World War II. However, in that most recent period other factors have contributed to emigration from The Netherlands, to be discussed hereafter.

In this context an important fact must be mentioned.

In 1915 the director of the "Nederlandse Vereniging Landverhuizing", Mr J. Maurer, accompanied by Professor Elema, government counsellor for agriculture in the Dutch province of Drenthe, undertook a voyage to

Canada with the purpose of doing research regarding the following topics:

1- governmental care for immigrants;

2- situation of the Dutch immigrants in Canada; perspectives;

3- situation of the Dutch families placed in Nova Scotia;

4- situation of the Dutch on the so-called "ready made farms" of the Canadian Pacific Railway Co. in Western Canada.

AD 1

Care for immigrants was exclusively a government task. Immigration in those years was mainly immigration of farmers; their placement was effectuated from Winnipeg, Man. as a centre. The report Maurer and Elema wrote, mentions that immigrants were generally not placed in the best possible situations. This was explained by the consideration, that the Canadian farmer needed all-round farm labourers, who were familiar with Canadian farming methods and--- with the English language. As most immigrants could not qualify on both counts, they were forced to live through a difficult stage of apprenticeship and low wages. For many immigrants this proved to be the reason why they left the agricultural sector in order to find work in the cities. As in Manitoba farming is mainly a wheat growing proposition, their employment was often seasonal, unless the farmer was also a cattle farmer. Work in the cities, however, subjected the immigrants quite often to the hardships of unemployment in winter time.

AD 2

Maurer also reported on the problems connected with homesteading. But again, his report discussed situations in the West and barely touched the province of Ontario, the province where most immigrants were going since World War I.

Homesteading was qualified as very hard work with little chance of

direct financial reward, unless the farmer had money to invest.

AD 3

The Nova Scotia experiment, involving 10 Dutch families, was considered a complete failure. Selection of prospects had been cursory and quite superficial; only a few of these families were familiar with agricultural techniques; others did never own a farm and lacked the capital required.

AD 4

The "ready made farm" (parcel has been fenced off, house and barn are available) as provided by the CPR. was no success either. The CPR. seems to have lacked in experience of irrigation methods and techniques; the immigrants were not familiar with Canadian agricultural techniques.

The report offered no conclusions other than that it had been proven that extensive information regarding immigration to Canada should be made available to prospective immigrants.

All in all the report was a far cry from an enthused recommendation to Dutch potential emigrants to make Canada their chosen country.

In 1921 the successor of Mr Maurer, Mr J.C.C. Sandberg, a former colonel in the Netherlands-Indië Army, made a study tour through Canada. As a result an agreement between the Canadian and Dutch Governments was realized. Dutch emigrants would not receive a visa before having been instructed on life and work in Canada; the Canadian Government assured placement of the emigrant for one year.

This agreement, however, did not last very long. After one year the Canadian visa was no longer required, being replaced by a simple immigration stamp; placement of immigrants was entrusted to both rail-

way companies, CPR. and CNR. and the story of their activities is not a very inspiring one.

It is clear, however -says Mr J.A.A. Hartland in his book: History of Dutch Emigration up to World War II- that neither the Canadian Government, nor the management of the railway companies have been fully aware of the too frantic efforts of their subalterns to win over the Dutch emigration prospects; the Dutch Government of those days was not energetic enough in its reactions against certain abuses.

Be this as it may, the result was that on the side of Dutch public opinion aversion was growing and even with the Dutch Government emigration was certainly not the pet topic of the country's administrative powers.

The following years set the scene for endless discussions in The Netherlands of the problem how to organize emigration, how to prepare emigrants for their venture, how and to what extent to assist them financially and in other respects, how to keep in touch with them and how to keep a steady flow of information on the emigration countries going, available to all prospective emigrants. Several commissions and committees were established, held meetings, reported in great detail--- and concluded in a negative vein. A vast array of plans was discussed until the outbreak of World War II put a premature stop to the execution of some promising plans...

2-4 Emigration from The Netherlands after World War II

After World War II emigration from The Netherlands received a new impetus. The agreements with CPN. and CPR. -formerly the sources of many controversies and problems- were not renewed and from then on

emigration was going to be a matter to beregulated through both the Canadian and Dutch Governments directly.

In previous years emigration had been a proposition for farmers only. Since 1945, however, persons from all walks of life and of all trades were finding their way to Canada and it is only since World War II that immigration to Canada from The Netherlands took on the qualities of a "wave". It is correct, that during the first post-war years it was the farmer and market gardener again, who seemed to be the preferred candidate for emigration, but soon tradesmen, artisans and professionals were joining the "trek" westward.

In this period we find motivations of a new and different kind.

The Netherlands, during World War II, had been pilfered bythe occupational German armies; the country's economy was severely damaged and chances for recuperation seemed slim in the postwar chaos; the Netherlands East Indies, source of work and wealth for centuries, were lost; Europe was disorganized; a new occupation, this time by the Soviet Russian armies was feared. During the war The Netherlands ressembled one vast prison camp and the end of the war brought a sense of such intense relief to the Dutch, that great numbers of them wished for and realized a complete change of environment, of work, of aims in life: a completely new start. A great number of people -considering the housing shortage, the expected population increase, the crowdedness of the country, the increasing socialization and planning of economic lifedecided that the future of the country did not seem too promising, not for themselves, but certainly not for their children.

So they went searching for greener pastures, farther away horizons, more freedom in personal and occupational life, more chances to make good in a shorter period of time, a change of psychological climate. Emigra-

tion statistics in general -and statistics regarding emigration to Canada- show the results.

Around 1958 overall emigration from The Netherlands slowed down again for a number of reasons.

The Dutch economy picked up quite rapidly, much faster than even optimists would have dared to forecast back in 1945 and 1946. The new forms of international cooperation which became established in postwar Europe, inspired all parties concerned to intensified efforts within the individual countries. The fear for Soviet domination of Europe abated gradually. Trade and commerce and, above all, an upcoming industry in The Netherlands, proved themselves embarked on a very fortuitous course to such a degree that around 1960 a serious labour shortage forced the Dutch to admit vast numbers of Poles, Greek, Turks, Spanish and other nationalities to join the Dutch labour force. An almost endless number of well paid jobs became available and the enthusiasm for emigration, which never did have the quality of having been fostered for its own merits, died down gradually.

Other reasons contributed to the same result: the "immigration countries" did not "sell themselves" very aptly, not before the arrival of the immigrant in his new world and not after their passports had been stamped "landed immigrant".

Information about the situation in the new country was sparse and seldom very factual or realistic. Brochures, statistics, general "tourist information type of literature" pictured the sunny side of the future homeland. Even the shadows did not seem to be excessively black.

Preparation of the emigrant before his departure was insufficient. A prospective emigrant needs more than a smattering of a new language, the know-how necessary to figure amounts in pounds and dollars, to buy

railway tickets and ask the policeman on the corner how to go to the barbershop. He needs a real brainwashing, an almost complete exposure to the harsher realities of the new life and environment, the people he is going to join in the daily battle for the daily bread and a multitude of other details. Preparation has been too factual. Psychologically and mentally the prospective emigrant was not sufficiently prepared.

Hence the disillusions, the failures, the unfulfilled expectations. It is of no use to try and point an accusing finger at anyone, because many emigrants should never have left their country in the first place. The responsibility for failure and disillusion is , in the final analysis, their own, as they permitted themselves not to be prepared sufficiently--- to the extent of not even bothering to learn the language which they were going to need for daily use.

Disillusioned people have a known tendency to put the blame for their misadventures on everybody except on themselves. In so doing, they generate adverse propaganda and tales of misery and failure spread more easily than tales of success, as the latter is usually taken for granted.

There is one other complex of factors which should now be discussed briefly, as it helps explain the general trend Dutch emigration has followed through the ages.

Broadly speaking, the Dutch are not made of the material an emigrant must be made of.

The Dutch are individualists and consider this qualification as a compliment. They want to be their own boss and do not accept discipline easily, whether dictated by people or by circumstances, if they can help it at all. For hundreds of years they have travelled all over the globe, trading, transporting goods, fishing the high seas, colonizing

the Indies in East and West, searching for new sea routes--- always to go back home again and enjoy the fruits of their efforts. The Dutch are no empire builders. They were after a quick return, selling New Amsterdam for a pittance and missing out on scores of opportunities in the past and -in all likelihood- in the present.

The Dutch do "not set foot on one night's ice" -as the proverb says-, avoid risks as much as they can ("Watch until the cat leaves the tree on his own initiative and power"), and call all this "caution" and "prudence".

Sometimes bigtime entrepreneurs rise from the grey sea of run of the mill burghers--- Usually they do extremely well and then even the press may join in the quite often snide attacks on their persons, their work, their intentions. Especially during the last decenniad the onlooker might well get the impression that in Holland it is considered almost anti-social to strive for and realize profit, or to stand out in some way or other, for which society has ways and means to administer petty punishments. How these facts compare with the generally evoked admiration for individuality can not be explained--- not even by a Dutchman.

Of course many Dutch emigrants do show endurance, pioneer spirit, willingness to endure hardship for an extended period of time. These were the virtues of the emigrants who fled their country in times of religious persecution; they still are the virtues of many others in modern times. However, they do not allow for the conclusion, that the Dutch are emigrants "par excellence". Why not ?

There are the many memories of the olden days, when establishment in the colonies in East and West was only temporary as a rule. In the vast majority of cases one did not only enjoy leave with pay every so often; one usually closed off one's career with a repatriation to The

Netherlands and a more or less comforting bank account and a life which, as far as daily necessities were concerned, was safeguarded. Maybe such memories serve subconsciously as a yardstick and lead the Dutch to compare emigration to establishment in one of the (former) colonies. Of course this comparison is not valid and many have found this out.

Generally speaking the Dutch have the tendency, when an opportunity presents itself, to "sleep on it for another night"--- often finding out to their displeasure and detriment that others were wide awake while they were sleeping. This is an involved way to say that the Dutch usually make up their mind slowly... has it been made up, however, one way or the other, then all oldfashioned virtues take the lead, completing the picture in such a way as to even bring a Spanish Ambassador to despair when trying to describe the Dutch character.

Finally, the Dutch are a people which has always been "compartmentalized". It takes a war or a national disaster to create a common inspiration towards a common cause.

Historically the northern provinces (north of the so-called "large rivers": Maas and Rijn) were labelled "protestant" and the southern provinces "Roman Catholic". Problems of a nature as we now find in Canada, where French and English speaking provinces all but face each other instead of presenting a clear image of unity in many cases, are not unknown to the Dutch, even if existing controversies are being kept out of the open. World War II forced the people to disregard all things "which separated them in an effort to discover all factors, which could unite them", but it took only the silence on the European battlegrounds for the old controversies to spring into new life.

Religion is one of the strongest sources of power for the immigrant to draw his inspiration from in order to survive, to endure, to build,

to be patient, to succeed. Small wonder, then, that the Dutch in Canada, who in majority are followers of a small number of the larger Christian Churches -including the Roman Catholic Church- are more strongly inclined to lean on their church and its teachings for moral, mental and psychological support. The same goes for the Roman Catholics, with one interesting point of difference. The Protestant denominations have established "Dutch" parishes or churches, mainly serving the Dutch faithful. Even if, in later years, the service and sermons are being held in the English language, the church or parish is Dutch. Roman Catholics have not established "Dutch" parishes of their own. They join the local parish of the area where each and everyone has his domicile. So, for the Protestants, the church is one of the last binding factors; in the church the religious traditions of the old country are being kept alive and a sense of "unity", of "belonging together", is continued to a certain degree.

Of course this picture is changing. The first generation of immigrants may be more strict in the observance of religious dictates than ever before. Controversies between the various groups may be clearer cut than ever was the case in The Netherlands, where a tendency towards mutual understanding is becoming stronger and stronger over the last five, maybe ten years. The old parochial spirit of favouring first "the brethren of the faith" might be stronger over here than it is now in the old country. But the second generation is already taking a different course. Education in Canadian schools, intermarriage of Dutch and Canadians of other religious convictions, an increase in prosperity which quite often leads to a slackening of practices in the field of religion, a growing insight within the younger generation that Canada can not be compared to village or town in a tradition bound area

and a lack of interest in the old controversies as such, which are mostly of interest to, and can only fully be fathomed by theologians--- all this causes a new appraisal of the interrelations between people of different religious views. This picture is correct with a regard to Protestants as well as Roman Catholics.

However, the traditional influences are still there, quite often in the form of a silent battle, still being fought--- and lost gradually.

Such influences, however, help explain why in Canada THERE IS NOT MUCH in the form of a coherent, distinguishable, representative body, encompassing THE Dutch, which by any stretch of the imagination could be labelled: "The Dutch Community".

One of the pet beliefs of the Dutch immigrants is, that they "integrate" or even "assimilate" very rapidly into the Canadian reality. I fail to see the truth in statements of that kind, which suggests that the Dutch are very pliable, adapting themselves very easily to new situations, environments and conditions, and have an open mind--- that they blend into a new environment very rapidly, becoming part of it. And, ---- on the surface this may appear correct.

Speaking broadly, and realizing that generalizations can not be correct because of their very nature, I believe, that the Dutch in Canada show an analogous overall picture as they show in The Netherlands: no real unity, no real coherence, no parallelism of purpose. The Dutch in Canada are patterned in a similar way as they are patterned in The Netherlands. No large groups, organizations, which could be labelled as representing Dutch culture, are in existence in Canada. There are some larger credit unions as for instance in Toronto, Ont. and London, Ont., which are thriving for purely commercial and financial reasons and a number of entertainment clubs; thse clubs have one thing in common with

the credit unions: offering the possibility for making charter flights to Holland at reduced rates for which the Dutch show a lively interest. Credit unions make use of this sort of activity to attract more members willing to open a savings account out of which the trip will be paid. To conform with IATA requirements the credit unions as well as the so-called entertainment club, which has charter flying as its real direct purpose, have to create a background of social activities, which take shape in the form of a very limited number of screenings of films or of a number of dances.

In many cases those dances do even present a problem, as some religious denominations are against dancing.

Fact is, that the Dutch have a strong tendency to disappear, to give up whatever identity they had, to distrust fellow Dutch and even to be almost afraid of them, to minimize successes of the Dutch in Canada thus demonstrating a certain measure of jealousy and an aversion from seeing fellow countrymen rise from the "nameless crowd".

In their heart the Dutch remain very Dutch indeed, even after years of living abroad either as immigrants or as individuals having been sent overseas in the accomplishment of their duties in trade and commerce.

So we find at the same time: an unexplainable pride in being able to merge with the newly won fellow countrymen, on one hand, and a stubborn individualism in all respects, which should really set them apart, on the other.

Musing over all this, it becomes easier to understand that in Canada we are not able to find Dutch groups, representative of or demonstrating whatever typically Dutch hereditary virtues and qualities one would be looking for. Only during the last few years we find some groups on the cultural level, which try to keep Dutch traditions alive. The next chapter will deal with some of these efforts.

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Since a few years emigration from The Netherlands in general, and to Canada more specifically, is slightly increasing.

This increase must be expected to take on some impetus in the near future, mainly for two reasons:

1- the younger generation is looking for new ways and means to meet new challenges it will not find in an overcrowded country, where since World War II practically everything has become object of rules and regulations, permits, certificates, examinations and insurance;

2- intellectuals may be expected to become more and more interested for similar reasons. Amongst them the term "emigration" is losing its pejorative connotation rapidly.

In both cases an important consideration is, that distance has lost its meaning. Distance is no longer measured in miles but in dollars; not even in hours.

This takes away a severe drawback: the feeling of having burned one's bridges and of having passed the point of no return. However, it may also have taken away one of the strongest motivations which could urge the emigrant to endure and struggle on no matter what comes: the sense of finality of the step he took---

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3. CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE DUTCH

3-1 Cultural contributions made to the mainstream of Canadian life

As I have tried to explain in the foregoing, why we can not speak of "The Dutch Group" as such, interpreting the term "group" as an "aim-bound entity, directing itself to reach certain goals through implementation of certain means, in case on cultural levels", it will be clear that it is next to impossible to point to the existence of such a Dutch group in Canada, or to its contributions made to the mainstream of Canadian life.

Any such contributions have to be identified as solitary instances where individuals through their personal efforts and achievements may have made contributions of this nature. Here, again, we hit on some remarkable "twists of reasoning" as soon as we are looking at details.

A professional as for instance: a doctor, a lawyer, an architect, a notary public, an accountant, coming to Canada as an immigrant is for more than one reason not allowed to start practicing, no matter what prestige he may have earned during his carreer in the home country.

This is quite understandable in a number of cases. Lawyers and notaries public are conversant only with a specific legal system as far as positive law is concerned, although they might be considered to be on an equal footing with regard to f.i. the "philosophy" aspect of law. As far as practicing is concerned it is self-evident that he will have to start all over again.

For professionals as the architect and the accountant it is less obvious why, from a professional point of view, they should not be allowed to practice, even if a moderately short familiarization period would be indicated.

For the various medical professions the layman fails to see why a doctor, surgeon, dentist, etc. should not be allowed to practice from a purely professional point of view.

Surgical and other techniques and routines, methods of treatment, the art of prescribing drugs, are things which in our day and age are highly internationalized, commonly known all over the world, the best and most succesful being used no matter in which country the drug, a method of treatment, or maybe even an instrument has been first introduced. For the layman it is hard to understand that the immigrant/medical practitioner is not allowed to start practicing without having to go through a period of study, internship, examinations and so on.

To the layman appendicitis in a Canadian is the same as appendicitis in a Dutchman and the treatment will also be the same.

Obviously there is more to these problems than meets the eye. Maybe there are certain professional reasons, even if the immigrant/doctor comes from a country where the medical arts are on as high a level as they are in Canada. Maybe a numerus clausus is being kept intact. Maybe there is some reluctance to have newcomers share the profitable income of practitioning, without having such practitioner go through a period of adaptation or just waiting and marking time.

I do not bring this up to argue the point itself. I merely try to come to the following conclusion:

if the surgeon, architect and other professionals have to go through such period of retraining, this would only make sense from a purely professional point of view, born of the need to adapt the professional to Canadian standards, which would have to be considered different from the

standards in the professional's homeland: different to such a degree, that the professional's know-how, scientific schooling, his techniques would have to be deemed inacceptable with regard to Canadian standards.

Now the question rises: if a foreign professional has gone through such period of adaptation, his professional ways must then be considered sufficiently "Canadianized" in order to allow him to take up practice. To what degree can this professional be considered to be representative of Dutch, German, Scandinavian etc. skills, scientific standing, or culture?

And, if such professionals are good or even outstanding, how much can Holland claim as "contribution of the Dutch to the mainstream of Canadian life"?.

Similar considerations can be developed with regard to practically all other professions and occupations.

The first and most frustrating and discouraging words, which are usually spoken to the immigrant of any profession or trade, after the handshakes of welcome have cooled when at an interview for a job of the same level as he used to hold back home (or even of a considerably lower level or of a different nature) are: "You have no Canadian experience".

Among other things this means: "Unless you adapt your ways of working to those accepted overhere, we have no place for you". Again, apart from practical details, apart from the necessity that beyond any doubt certain routines ARE different and therefore need to be adapted, all this means that the immigrant <u>has to change</u>. In what way then could the Dutch craftsman be considered as a representative of Dutch cultural values?

Maybe the only exceptions are to be found in the field of the fine arts, where an artist must be an individualist no matter his nationality.

The taste of the public is shifty anyway and no strict rules prescribe boundaries between which the artist has to do his creative work. But what immigrant/artist would dare to rely on his art and craft for making a living? During the first 5 or 10 years of his stay in the chosen land? If ever?

This author knows a Dutch artist, painter of great stature, who earns a top salary in the building trade as accredited architect and construction supervisor. All he is hoping for is, to have enough spare time in order to be able to put his brushes on the canvas..
A publishing company was willing to employ this man and take everything out of him it could, for the royal remuneration of $ 5,000 per annum, a sum of money which would be refused by a house painter for doing doors and window sills. Now a fine representative of Dutch artistic creativity builds monotonous apartment suites and his influenece in things cultural is nil.

A country, having decided to admit immigrants of all trades and professions, should at the same time make up its collective mind, if it wishes for high caliber immigrants, to offer them more than an NHA mortgage or a sophisticated system of credit cards.

All this goes to show that if we are looking for immigrant influence on, or immigrant contributions to Canadian life, we are looking for a thing which is slowly being smothered by the very tendency to "Canadianize" the newcomer.

To this we must add the consideration, that the 20th century did not yet produce great men in the field of the fine arts in the same sense as we will find in bygone ages. Names of the grandeur of a Joost van den Vondel, poet, Rembrandt van Rhijn, painter, and scores of others will be searched for in vain. However, we should also realize, that we have not

gained sufficient distance in time and the perspective we need to judge the artistic quality which renders the artist the fame of being "of all ages". We usually treat our contemporaries with a shocking lack of fair judgement, of charity even and, as the true artist is ahead of his time, we may just be lagging behind in our appreciation.

One striking example of a Dutch artist who has won international acclaim is Piet MONDRIAN (1872-1944). His paintings are now shown in the Toronto Art Gallery (February 12 - March 20). Mondrian worked in The Netherlands, France and United States, where he died. His compositions on the basis of geometrical grids, lines, squares, rectangles and so on, painted in the primary colours, white, black and grey, are even nowadays influencing Canadian fashions. But Mondrian, I am sorry to say in this context, was not a Canadian immigrant from Dutch descent---

Certainly, Dutch emigrants are making fine doctors, surgeons, lawyers, accountants, architects etc., but they must be considered Canadian professionals as mentioned before. The best we can say, is that their training in The Netherlands, their education and general cultural background have paved their way and provided the foundation for their later professional life.

Looking towards political realms--- again, no Dutch names, certainly not on the higher and highest levels, attract our searching eyes. Dutch immigration is perhaps too young to warrant any expectations.

Dutch scientists are active in many different disciplines. They must be considered Canadian scientists, although I think that a true scientist can not be labelled with a significant "nationality label".

No outstanding professional artists in the realm of the performing arts, exception taken for a few cases as f.i. Miss Martine van Hamel as outstanding ballerina with the Canadian National Ballet. No playwrights, no soloists---

If we ask ourselves what contributions Dutch immigrants have made and are making to the mainstream of Canadian life, we have no positive answer when we consider the Dutch as a group; we have no individual "great ones" to point out either. The only conclusion we feel safe to

draw is, that -fortunately- the many negative characteristics pointed out sofar, are being counteracted by their positive opposites. If the Dutch have influence on the mainstream of Canadian life, it is in a non-spectacular way, through the efforts, the respectability, the reliability, the professional standing of the individual, who thus, each within the limits of his own particular environment, represents the old country's values and virtues.

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3-2 Contributions, which retained much of an "ethnic flavour"

The question concerning contributions (cultural) which retained much of an "ethnic flavour" and which were intended primarily for the members of the ethnic group, must be answered in a similar vein.

Folklore: since a few years a folklore group in Toronto tries to organize folkdancing in traditional costumes. The efforts made are successful in as far as it has been proven, that a group of between 20 and 30 adults and maybe a similar number of children, can be kept taking part actively in a thing they never did in The Netherlands: wear the traditional costumes of their area--- and engage in folkdancing. Only in a few provinces in The Netherlands folkdancing is practiced at certain occasions and even then more as a demonstration or as an effort to reanimate the things of olden days, than as part of a living traditional routine. Similar efforts do take place in The Netherlands and with the same small active participation from the general public. Although typically Dutch, such dances and songs are age old and out of normal use; their demonstration does not reflect today's Holland; however, they are part and parcel

of the Dutch cultural heritage.

In Toronto and other cities Dutch choirs exist. Again, between 20 and 40 people take part and those doing so are enthused members. However, their repertoire is far from typically Dutch.

Also in Toronto is an amateur -or maybe we should say "semi-professional"- theatre group, "FAMA", which stages plays occasionally--- no Dutch plays, because what would be available in Dutch plays would not amount to much. The continuous struggle radio and television stations in The Netherlands have to procure material for their programming, tells the story. Only a very small percentage is home produced. The balance is translated foreign material. Again, we have no theatre groups bringing Dutch plays to any extent.

After all these negative statements it comes as a relief to mention one institution, which is representative of the level Dutch cultural efforts take place on. It is an institution which has its headquarters in The Netherlands, but through the efforts of the now Canadian (permanent) representative, this institution has been able to secure a place for at least one aspect of Dutch cultural life: international broadcasting.

I suggest that this effort is of such importance aside from being practically one of the very few manifestations of Dutch values, that a description in some detail is in order.

At the same time a case history is provided of an immigrant who indeed, through his daily work and efforts, is literally disseminating information concerning the Dutch way of life.

In 1952, when 22 years old, Mr John van Bruchem, came to Canada. He settled in Barrie, Ontario, a town located in the immediate area of the Holland Marsh district, where before him numerous New-Canadians from

The Netherlands had found employment as farm workers.

Having worked in the broadcasting industry in The Netherlands, he became intrigued by the important role the regional and privately owned radio station could play in helping the Dutch settlers to integrate in their new surroundings by means of presenting them with talks and commentary on Canada in their native tongue.

He approached the President of the local CKBB radio station in Barrie and was given a 30-minute broadcast period per week, offered to him free of charge as a public service.

After having produced a number of programs, he began to realize that in view of the large scale influx of immigrants to this country, the Canadians would have to adapt themselves as much to their new neighbours from Holland as these New-Canadians settling among Canadians would have to. He therefore decided to use the broadcasting medium to inform Canadians about the traditions, customs, culture as well as the environment from which their Dutch friends had come. To do this he produced a weekly half hour show of music and spoken word in the English language to both entertain and inform his Canadian audience. This program was labelled: "HOLLAND CALLING".

His efforts drew a very favourable response from Canadians, asking him to speak on subjects of as wide a variety as the interest of his listeners, ranging from requests by Canadian house wives to give her the recipe of the Dutch "speculaas" cookies, to farmers who wanted to know what fertilizer his counter-part in The Netherlands uses to grow such juicy beans ; from the college student who asked for the rules of the game of Holland's national sport "Soccer", to the business man, who wanted to know where he could buy the Dutch cigars he had enjoyed during his stay in The Netherlands.

Realizing the value of this exchange of ideas, the program director of the Barrie radio station offered his services to promote the HOLLAND CALLING PROGRAM for broadcast on the then newly formed Community Broadcasting System, a group of 4 radio stations in Ontario, located in Owen Sound, Guelph, Belleville and Barrie.

Being faced with the problem of having to present his listeners every week with new and interesting subjects, John van Bruchem approached the Dutch World Broadcasting System to provide him with appropriate radio programs. This organization, a non-government, non-profitmaking foundation, did not underestimate the value of his endeavours and prepared especially for these stations a number of programs, free of charge.

As requested by Mr van Bruchem, these talks were recorded by Canadians while visiting or on assignment in Holland, thus giving the radio listener in Canada an opportunity to listen to someone, not only speaking in his own tongue but to listen to someone with an identical outlook on life and viewing matters as he would himself. Many of these talks were recorded by wellknown CBC radio personalities such as Larry Henderson, Allan Row, Gordon Jones and Ken Haslam.

With the exception of the Barrie station, which paid him $ 2.50 per program, John van Bruchem did not receive financial assistance and bore the cost of maintaining these programs himself. In all fairness it must be said that the radio stations never charged him for the broadcast time relinquished for this purpose.

As years passed by and more immigrants came from Holland, more stations were added to his line-up, especially in the areas where the majority of the Dutch emigrants settled in the province of Ontario: London, Sarnia, Wingham, Brantford, Woodstock, Kitchener, Kingston, Ottawa and Oshawa.

In order to service all these stations every week with programs, Mr van Bruchem built a small recording room in the basement of his home to produce his programs.

The acceptance of his HOLLAND CALLING program in Ontario was reason for him to believe that he might very well extend his services to all provinces of Canada. To realize this idea he called in the assistance of the Dutch World Broadcasting System, in Hilversum, Holland.

Having watched his activities for a number of years and being encouraged by his success, Mr van Bruchem was appointed as the Permanent Canadian Representative of this organization, giving him the moral and financial support for his ideals to inform Canadians about the culture and traditions of the new arrivals from Holland.

His activities have now grown to major proportions. During the year 1965 Mr van Bruchem aired more than 10,000 radio programs over some 120 radio stations in Canada, programs of every nature for people of all walks of life: for the newly formed University and Educational radio stations programs on Holland's role in international science; direct news reports from Holland on matters of international importance; farm talks for the rural stations, giving the farmer helpful hints and information on cultivating his crop.

For the discriminating radio listener stereo concerts of classical music from the mediaeval Dutch Concert Halls and for the younger set the jazz sessions from the smoke filled bars.

These programmes are made available to all radio stations in Canada free of charge. Produced in both the English and French languages, they extend the culture of The Netherlands to every citizen, wherever he may be in Canada.

All these programs are channelled through the offices of Mr van

Bruchem, who -having lived in this country for 14 years and being a Canadian citizen, is in a position to judge the contents of the programs as being of interest and value to both countries.

This, then, is the work of a New-Canadian from The Netherlands, who -on his own- did his share to bring the culture of his native country to Canada.

Closely related to the field of radio is the field of the periodical press, known as the so-called "ethnic press" or "ethnic publications".

Apart from a number of Dutch-Canadian credit unions, who issue their newsletters once a month in order to keep their members up to date on the progress of their institutions and to make announcements regarding social activities to provide the necessary background for qualifying as a "social club" and thus become qualified to organize charter flights -one of the means to get new members in, who will open new savings accounts- most of the Dutch periodicals have a religious background and footing.

"Calvinist Contact" (weekly), Hamilton, addresses itself to the Dutch Calvinist Protestant group; "Compass-Onder Ons" (monthly), London, is published by the Roman Catholic Bureau for Netherlands Immigration; "Pioneer" (monthly), Hamilton, is published by the (Dutch) Reformed Church. A neutral monthly is published in Montreal, "De Nederlandse Post" The only independent Dutch Canadian weekly is "De Nederlandse Courant", of which this author is the owner and editor.

Apart from these publications which are distributed nation-wide, a number of smaller local publications exists and is being published at more or less regular intervals.

It is very hard to establish what impact these publications have on the Dutch immigrants, and on the Canadian environment in which the immigrant lives. Most publications print part of their editorial

matter in English for the simple reason, that the editors wish to reach the second generation, which -by the way- has a more intensive and direct contact with Canadian contemporaries.

From experience this author is aware of the fact, that these publications -no matter the language they print in- are being observed constantly. So much is clear from reactions received, directly or indirectly, if the form of inquiries or requests, emanating from official bodies. Therefore I do feel, that these publications have a certain influence where it counts. However, it is impossible to measure such influence and even to describe it in detail.

If publications as the ones referred to, do bring out the greatness, the cultural standing of the home land, there is more than a slight chance that, in the long run, the immigrant starts to realize better than ever before, that his background consists of moral and cultural "assets" of which he should be proud, even if they might seem different from the comparable "assets" he finds in his new surroundings.

Being proud of one's background is not one of the clearly recognizable elements in the Dutch character. But if the Dutch realize that this very background, which he would not conceal on purpose in his doings, is identified as valuable, recognized as of a certain standing and appreciated for any number of reasons, then the Dutch will gladly have "friends and neighbours" -in the widest sense of the word- take part in it, even if they would mask a certain amount of surprise by acting in an off-hand manner and by the use of understatements, to say the least.

This is the area where influence of the mainstream of Canadian life is real as will be explained in the following.

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3-3 Family-life

Having arrived at this stage, this author was a very unhappy man.

It had seemed so selfevident to a Dutchman, that the Dutch immigrant was representing the old country and its vast cultural treasures, created over a period of many hundreds of years, in grand style. It had seemed relatively easy to present proof of the Dutch presence in Canada on the basis of the assumption that a number of names, to which personal success stories are attached and which are more or less generally known, represented only a selection, made at random as it were--- a selection, easy to complete with scores of others.

The search for these scores has been a failure as far as this author is concerned. A picture of the Dutch presence in Canada must be painted in hues of grey, not very dark or very light grey--- the grey of a Dutch morning fog, silently spread over colourless rivers, pastures and villages, creating the impression of solid objects blending into the uniformity all around them, without any outlines, highlights or shadows.

An undefinable "Rhapsody in Grey".

Apart from the exceptions referred to, no manifestations of any spectacular nature were to be found. And in those cases where a personal success story can be reported, the persons involved prefer to stay out of the limelight, shunning publicity of any kind --- out of fear of jealousy.

Having arrived at this point, the search had to be reoriented. Instead of looking for more or less spectacular proof of this Dutch presence, the search focussed on "way of life" in the narrower sense of the term.

This is where one particular aspect draws the attention: the family life of the Dutch, literally the "every day way of life" which the Dutch

immigrant tries to conserve, consciously as well as subconsciously. It is this way of life such immigrants as are suffering from home-sickness are longing for, quite often in vain: the safety, the privacy and the togetherness in the family home as well as the continuous mutual contact of the members of the family and with relatives.

Generally speaking the Dutch family has always been and still is a very closely knit unit, although it must be admitted that modern influences do not fail to leave their imprint on the general pattern.

The key-word, needed to describe the most potent factor in keeping the family together and marking one family's relationship with the relatives, is: "gezelligheid", a word which is as full of meaning as it is difficult to translate.

"Gezelligheid": companionableness, sociability, conviviality, snugness, cosiness, all these notions are part of it.

"Gregariousness" might meet the requirements when one is looking for a socio-anthropological term describing the main aspect of Dutch public life.

In Dutch family life it is the home itself which plays the key role: here is the focal point where memories of the past, of the childhood, of the intuitive hang towards safety, mingle with the desire for a daily "pied-à-terre", a place to start the day and to go back to after the work has been done.

The Dutch homelife has always been identified with "togetherness". At evening time and during the weekend, members of the family will engage in collective pass-times; Holland is rich in family games.

Christmas and Easter, the typical "Sint Nicolaasfeest" on December 5 or 6, New Year's Eve and other days of celebration, find the Dutch at home rather than in restaurants.

To spend the evening's or Sunday's leisure hours, the entire family may be satisfied with sitting in a circle, discussing the current events, things to come and a million other things. Friends may drop in and they will find themselves part of this circle. The ladies and girls will have their little occupations as knitting and similar needlework. Coffee, tea, maybe hot chocolate and cookies will be served or, later in the evening and if there is a reason for it, alcoholic beverages, especially beer, geneva or egg-nog (for the ladies) and maybe a variety of liqueurs.

It is a quiet sort of pleasure a gathering of this kind offers, a middle-class man's idea of heaven which reached an apex of perfection around the turn of the century, has subsisted through the following fifty years and is now under attack of changes as, for instance, the arrival of radio and television and, in an earlier stage, of the growing number of organizations of all kinds, drawing men, women and children away from home with meetings, rehearsals and the like.

In earlier years, before electric light became a normal household convenience, the living room -in the hour between full daylight and the night's dark- would be lighted only by the soft glow of the little "Thee-lichtje", a miniature spirit stove used to keep the teapot or coffeepot on the right temperature. The burner was usually enclosed in a metal contraption, the sides of which were made of glass or porcelain, on which ornaments were painted or baked in. When dusk would settle over the city or village and before the lights, candles, oil or gaslamps would be put into service, this period of the day was a moment of relaxation.

All this is now changing or has been changed, but left over is: the spirit of those almost contemplative moments.

In a similar psychological climate birthdays are celebrated, as are religious feasts and days of commemoration as the day of the First Holy

Communion, Confirmation, Baptism or days with the same or analogous meaning, depending from the religious origin of such feast.

All these celebrations -or at least most of them- can be found in other countries. But in The Netherlands the accent is on: celebration within the family circle. All members of the family will endeavour to be present at such occasions.

It is easy to see that under such circumstances and conditions home making has almost grown out into a cult and home decorating has become an art of long standing.

This senseof family unity and the climate it creates, is what the emigrant misses upon his arrival for two reasons: he arrives as a stranger anyway in the first place; in the second place it takes a considerable amount of time before the newcomer gets to know fellow Dutch immigrants; moreover there is a strong tendency for Dutch immigrants to avoid each other's company, as if they are thouroughly fed up with everything Dutch and, having left the country, after having gained distance geographically, now seek psychological distance as well. One of those controversial things the Spanish Ambassador tried to analyze. After a few years in Canada, however, the things of old start acting like magnets again. So the Dutch immigrant will strive to surround himself with the oldfashioned "gezelligheid" in his own home, to create this special atmosphere he can not live without and which he is looking forward to finding again on his first visit back home.

If he succeeds at all to create the same or an adapted form of this home climate in his new environment, it is clear that the basic virtues which led to its establishment in the native country over maybe hundreds of years, will be kept alive and might influence his newly won Canadian friends and neighbours.

In our own experience we have found out one remarkable thing: the younger generation is very much in favour of the climate described, not only the Dutch but also the Canadian younger set.

It has become a routine thing over the last five years to find our own home invaded by 30 to 40 youngsters of Dutch and other nationalities, when we settle down for our Christmas or New Year's Eve's celebrations. These youngsters all have homes of their own--- Apparently there is something special in the atmosphere of the traditionally Dutch home life worth exporting !

However, it is impossible to say how far all this does influence the mainstream of Canadian life.

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4. ASPIRATIONS OF THE GROUP

ITS PRESENT ROLE - ITS PART IN THE CANADIAN SOCIETY OF THE FUTURE

4-1 Negative conclusions

As must be expected after the foregoing, the fact would have to be accepted that no organizedDutch groups of any importance as to numbers exist on the cultural level.

Religious groups have their own specific aims and purposes at the spiritual level. Credit unions aim at their own goal, which is (or should be) money lending.

The Dutch in general merge rapidly and -as far as observation allows to establish- quite thouroughly.

There is no common Dutch ambition in the sense of an united effort directed at a specific aim. Individually, the Dutch wish to make out well in the new country, create a happy family life, educate the children in a number of cases even at great personal sacrifice and material expense, by establishing and supporting Dutch separate schools on a religious basis, perform the daily duties well and possibly somewhat better than average, enjoy the greater freedom of Canadian life, make a trip to Holland once and again. In short: to live the life of the solid middle-class man, of the ever indestructible burgher.

To discover an ambition, common to almost all Dutch, other than this one, is not possible.

In the last weeks we have seen an interesting demonstration.

Over the years voices have been raised every so often, proclaiming that the Dutch should do what the Germans, the Ukrainian, the Polish, the Japanese etc. have done: establish a national club or clubhouse; a centre where Dutch clubs and associations would be at home, have their meetings, practice their games, have a good restaurant, and so on.

Usually a number of people then get together, discuss possibilities and reach the conclusion that all this is impossible, given the traditional lack of cohesion amongst the Dutch, the lack of willingness to collaborate. So the problem is laid off, to rest for another number of years.

About six weeks ago the same thing happened. There was a committee meeting of some 10 or 12 persons from different walks of life. Two work groups were established, one obtaining the instruction to study ways and means adopted so succesfully by other national groups, which do have "national houses" or clubs; the other work group was to organize a poll.

Some 4,000 forms were distributed. The poll consisted of 13 easy to answer basic questions (YES or NO). This form was to be mailed postage free. One was requested to fill out the form, clip it from the newspaper issue in which it was printed, fold and tape it and mail it.

Everyone was made aware of the fact, that a negative answer was also very important, as was the total number of answers received.

In total 141 replies were received, more than 100 of which came in during the week <u>after</u> deadline day. Roughly two thirds of the answers showed a positive reaction, half of which, however, optioning for a less expensive solution. The negative answers were divided as to the reasons given.

Statistically a reaction of between 3 and 4% is considered as a normal average. However, I venture to say that nobody will wish to run the risk of assuming, in this case, that these 141 persons represent truly and dependably the some 30,000 Dutch in Metro Toronto and immediate surroundings. Again, I fear, we have to do with a stillborn child. The Dutch group -as always- has proven to be as elusive as the late Scarlet Pimpernel.

Small wonder, then, that such people among the Dutch immigrants, who have the qualities needed to be a leader or an organizer, do not wish to stick out their necks and spend time, money and effort in trying to launch projects with which they will find themselves --- quite alone.

Community efforts therefore are not easily started.

There is no group aspiration of any kind, as referred to in this context and there is no clear, distinct role of the group as such.

We are hitting and will go on hitting on the same obstacle: the innate stubborn individualism of the Dutch, going it alone if at all possible and -save in case of war or a major disaster- climbing on a bandwagon only if the music played sounds like the melodious tinkle of silver dollars or the crisp rustling of dollarbills. As in the days of the "Companies of the East and West Indies", initiative and cooperation must be solicited by means of material rewards --- and -as in the olden days- hope for a quick gain takes precedence over the proposition of a long term investment.

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So far the picture is almost completely negative. However ---

The Netherlands have an excellent reputation abroad, or so we like to think.

As shrewd businessmen, steel hard at the bargaining table, the Dutch have a name to lose.

But greater is the fame of the Dutch as builders of dykes, wrenching their soil from the sea even in our days; reclaiming the fertile acres, once the bottom of the Zuiderzee, the now "IJsselmeer", in a gigantic operation which takes decades for its completion; closing off sea arms, hooking up islands to the main land; creating thriving industries with a world reputation and having branches even in the remotest

corners of the earth; industrializing a country which was mainly agricultural for hundreds of years; having a seaport, Rotterdam, with more traffic than New York; transforming the larger part of 3 provinces into one huge metropolis; transporting goods and passengers from every country to any country.

The Netherlands brought forth great scientists in all disciplines, great creative and performing artists. The coldest spot on earth is in a relatively small laboratory in Leiden. The country floats on a huge natural gas bubble and, sure enough, since the Dutch tapped it, natural gas has become an export item.

This is a country of republicans governed by a Queen.

On the other hand, this is a country involved in a full scale process of socialization and which has already put into effect social legislation which is far ahead of its counterparts in other countries. A country with the lowest death rate and the highest figures for longevity.

Such, too, are the Dutch and this, too, is Holland.

If we think of the numerous qualities a nation must possess in order to bring about even some of the great achievements we find in the Netherlands, it becomes absolutely inexplicable why the Dutch presence in Canada can not be depicted in more distinctive shapes, in clearer colours and--- with more pride.

I hesitate to answer the question "why?".

The answer, I suspect, must be found in the fact that the average Dutch emigrant of the past and even of more recent times, <u>did not have part</u> to any degree in those great things the Dutch are achieving. They did not have any part in it directly, nor indirectly, even in a simple way like: being interested in it or proud of it. The Dutch do not

feel that all this is the result of a nation wide, common effort . There is no general interest in the achievement of common goals. The Dutch had to lose the East Indies (now Indonesia) in order to discover what they had meant to them over hundreds of years, their possession having been taken for granted as an heritage due to them.

This would explain to a certain degree why the Dutch in Canada show an amazing lack of interest in achieving common goals which have a Dutch flavour.

Claiming to be an individualist, however, the Dutch immigrant would be expected to excel in Canada as an individual, borrowing from his Dutch past such assets that would set him out against the new background.

In a number of cases this is indeed, what we see. Success stories of Dutch immigrants can be told, in professional life, in trade and commerce and in the realm of the artisan. Few and far between on the cultural level.

What we see in general, however, are individual immigrants, entering Canada and blending into that background almost beyond recognition.

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4-2 For the Future ?

I have great hopes for the second generation, the children of the Dutch immigrants since 1945. As far as I know them, they possess a certain amount of pride in their Dutch background and are even interested in it to a degree which shows a promise.

I have still greater hopes for the younger generation, still in The Netherlands, working and studying and growing more and more restless in an environment which has taken on the shape of a social laboratory, where

safety catches are secured by safety catches.

If Canada would see its way clear to attract the well-educated, well-trained young people from The Netherlands, we might even end up with a Dutch Group on the cultural level.

It is a must, however, no longer to select people from agricultural and unskilled backgrounds only. Canada must attract the young professionals from every level and every discipline and give them the feeling that they are welcome indeed, even if their English or French would not sound quite right during the first six months.

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FINALLY ---

I may sound despondent in this essay.

May it be confessed in all honesty: it is the way I feel.

But then, it should not be forgotten that I can not help being Dutch --- while caught in the act of questing the Dutch Presence in Canada, the Dutch Group, the Dutch Culture.

My judgements are the judgements of a Dutchman and my Canadian passport could not change this.

Maybe a certain King Pellinore would have succeeded better.

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ANNEXE 1

"HOLLAND: A COUNTRY OF PARADOXES"

Rare is the occasion when a nation is offered a picture of itself that is unblurred by bias and distortion, a view unobstructed by selfinvolvement.
His Excellency the Duke of Baena, Ambassador of Spain to the Netherlands for seven years, provided such a picture in an address delivered in Amsterdam.
An abridged English version of the original French text follows. (Source: "Netherlands News", published by the Information Section of the Royal Netherlands Embassy, Ottawa, Ont. The unabridged French text has been published in "Voorpost", Tijdschrift voor de Buitenlandse Dienst, # 5, December 1963)

As a Spanish diplomat, the Duke of Baena served nearly 12 years in the Netherlands: 1925, 1945-1948 and finally, until his retirement, 1956-1963.

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The calm, clear tranquility of Dutch life which so impresses the newly arrived visitor from abroad does not represent its essence. In reality the Dutch are, it seems to me, a nation subject to extremely powerful emotions, comparable in depth to their moral and religious preoccupation, and intermingled with principles of law and morality. These have given rise to a complex psychological situation in which the Dutch people's native love of freedom and independence comes into conflict with the rigidity of their self-imposed rules. Dutch life is, in fact, highly paradoxical.

First and foremost among the many paradoxes is the drive for liberty caught in the tyranny of trivial conventions. Freedom is yours by right; the laws of the Kingdom grant you all that the human condition requires to maintain its dignity. Yet side by side with this there is extreme conformism when it comes to the thousand and one small conventions and features of tradition that, taken together, exert the power of a sacred bourgeois ritual. No city in the world observes the tyranny of convention more closely than The Hague.

In my view, the Dutch are citizens rather than subjects, loyal and respectful citizens who hold their Sovereign dear, but never subjects that kneel down, hat in hand. The Queen seems to belong to them, not they to the Queen. The Dutch are republicans who love their monarchy.

The third paradox has a long story. Tacitus described Holland's first inhabitants as "a highly civilized Germanic tribe with rude manners". It is true that the Dutch cover up their sensitivity and tender feelings in an outward attitude of bluntness that sometimes becomes harsh and impertinent.

Then there is tolerance versus fanaticism. Ever since Holland freed itself of all foreign domination, its people have sought, and with considerable success, to live in peace and mutual understanding; and indeed, in Holland all goes well so long as everyone stays in his place. But tolerance is in no sense the ally of love, and the flame of fanaticism while small, burns with ease in Holland. It is a fanaticism devoid of cruelty or persecution, but it is obstinate, rigid and, on occasion, extremely stubborn, for the Dutchman must always be right and admits to error only with difficulty.

There is also thrift coupled with generosity. Here the Dutch give tangible evidence of their good sense of proportion. If there are ideals to be defended, events of disastrous impact to be dealt with, humans afflicted with disease or suffering that must be helped, the Dutch give bounteously and from a full heart. But small causes fail to stir their generosity.

When confronted with great causes, great problems, great ideas, the Dutch respond with greatness, yet in the details of everyday living there are points of friction and sources of irritation that are hard to put up with because of their very triviality. For these, one requires indeed a Dutchman's patience.

For the next paradox there is a choice in terminology: restraint versus curiosity, or dependence versus independence. I have met innumerable Dutch people who told me of their yearning, since childhood, for freedom and independence. To my question as to what they intended to make of their future lives, apart from the particular field they wished to enter, they invariably replied: "I want to be free and independent".

Now nothing is more legitimate than this desire for freedom in any society, but it is especially important in an overpopulated country where one's neighbours and immediate surroundings constitute a daily problem. Already in the 19th century a Dutchwoman, author and poet, pointed out:

"In Holland everything touches everything else; never forget it." Under such conditions freedom and independence are an absolute prerequisite for individual happiness, I agree. But in the case of Holland, given this explicit desire for freedom, we are faced, paradoxically with an equally explicit and equally characteristic desire for finding out as much as possible about the lives and conduct of others, in a word with curiosity. Curiosity is the enemy of freedom; Dutchmen do not seem to realize this, nor do they seem to be aware that the English formula "live and let live" is the best one to follow for those who wish to avoid being hurt in their everyday life. Only once did I receive a plausible answer to my question on this paradox: "I think we are so curious because we really want to know what others do with their freedom, and whether or not they are freer than ourselves."

Dutch people have the general reputation of being materialists, yet I know of no other country in the world where religion plays so large a role in social life, in ideas, in politics and in public opinion. But their materialism is not to be equated with greed, it is rather an expression of their habitual sense of order and precision. Where the material aspect of life is concerned, the Dutchman's attitude is that of the professional bookkeeper: make a small error, and you are a bad bookkeeper who risks his position. Thusthis meticulousness in things material has nothing to do with avarice and its opposite, generosity; it merely leads the Dutch to maintain a standard which is conceived of as a guaranty for a methodical existence.

Ninth paradox: the Dutch are realists and also dreamers. That they are realists is a point which I need not belabor, for on this everyone seems agreed. But they are dreamers too, perhaps because they must escape their realism from time to time, or perhaps this is the result of living a Nordic life in a misty region where water is a dominant fact of existence, where the air and sky have that gentleness and clarity that are the joy of artists all over the world. At any rate, this poetic quality in the Dutch is nowhere better expressed than in the character and physiognomy of the Frisians, those attractive people who inhabit a mysterious region of Holland and who claim to be different from all other Dutchmen. In actual fact the Frisian character represents the very essence of the Dutch soul.

The realist-dreamer paradox leads us right into another contradiction, namely the qualities of sensitivity and rudeness, both characteristic of the Dutch. Tacitus' observation still holds good in a fashion that is

often surprising and bizarre.

Foreigners are frequently unaware of the extreme sensitivity of the Dutch, and sometimes they even attribute to them a superiority complex or a patronizing attitude. This is not correct, in my opinion. What the Dutch do is to defend their extreme delicacy of sentiment by adopting a variety of stubborn attitudes, all cloaked in rudeness - perhaps because they do not want their sensitivity recognized.

The Dutchman presents a tough exterior to prove that he has no weaknesses. A few years ago, on the occasion of the visit to the Netherlands of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth of England, a beautiful exhibit went on display in The Hague, as a tangible reminder of the historic relations, both artistic and political, between this country and England. A Dutch professor of English delivered the opening address; he was a man of great intellect and he spoke flawless English. His text was scholarly but full of extremely amusing and even pointed quotations on the subject of Dutch national character as compared with the English. Many of these were examples of bluntness on the part of the Dutch, and what made it all even more amusing was the fact that everytime he produced a quotation, his audience laughed so heartily that he had to stop for a few moments. My point is clear: the Dutch are not ashamed of their directness and do not feel it needs correction; they consider it a characteristic feature that one may even come to value, saying: "There, that's the way we are.". Rude in manner, then, but I add, sensitive at heart.

All of the paradoxes I have mentioned seem to join in one that I consider central in that it seems to represent a single cause that yields a diversity of effects. I shall call it "the world of Jan Steen versus the teachings of Calvin".

The calm tranquility of Holland, in which Baudelaire believed so firmly, is superficial, for I can tell you that I have come across more nervous people in this country than anywhere else. True, all of France is nervous, but it is a nervousness displayed and expressed with such verbal elegance and animated gesticulation as to make of France what it is: a battlefield of the spirit. In Holland, on the other hand, this uneasiness of mind remains unexpressed, but is forever stirring the depths. The Dutchman's inmost battle is that of self-denial as a defense against self-indulgence.

The world of Jan Steen versus the teachings of Calvin. In this paradox lies the contrast between the Dutchman's "nature" and the education he receives.

By nature he is simple, friendly, sincere to the point of naivety, warm and very human; his sensuousness is often mixed with tenderness. Dutch education has sought to correct that nature by placing on conduct and morality the stamp of embarrassed shame, economy, Puritan restraint, caution, a sense of duty and propriety and, as I have said before, moderation above all else.

The critical faculty is highly developed in Dutch people. It is said that this results from perfectionism; and since we are all imperfect, the Dutchman finds pleasure in pointing out those imperfections.
Dutch criticism implies self-criticism; it is not uncommon at all to hear a Dutch person express reservations on this and that, followed by statements that are critical of certain individuals, and conclude by a confession that he himself has plenty of faults too. His self-criticism is his justification for the criticism of others, for all are subject to the criterion of perfectionism.

Now, if one's moral sense is basic to all in life, naturally one finds oneself confronted by a good many faults and shortcomings in the everyday existence. Perhaps this is why a conversation in Holland so often sounds like a sermon. Many Dutchmen preach without knowing it, and even when their reasoning is fundamentally correct, their tone and presentation are often so lacking in nuance and subtlety as to preclude brillance and lightness.

To repeat what I have said at the beginning, there is in the character of this nation a striking contrast between form and essence. I will add now that I have had the privilege in a rather extraordinary way to break through that outer shell of form (which is far less resistant than it might seem) and to touch the Dutch heart; that I have found there the goodness, the loyalty, the desire for affection and the faithfulness that one often finds in children.

I have, in fact, asked myself sometimes whether Holland as a whole, with her love of children, her passionate devotion to these perennially active, impertinent little creatures, is not an overgrown child herself. A child that is occasionally afraid of giving of itself with too much generosity, but a child that has the secret desire to be loved.

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FAMILY LIFE

Two examples

As set out heretofore family life "the Dutch way" is certainly one of the assets the Dutch immigrant brings into his new country. It does impress his Canadian friends in many different ways.

Usually it is the mother, who plays the central role in the family as the key person round which gather all members of the family, who sets the pace of everyday activities -including dad's- and who is the focal point of affection, law and order (dad is more like a court of appeal and, in some cases, a loving executioner of such punishments as may have been deemed necessary), and the grand "consolatrix afflictorum".

Twice over a Dutch housewife was selected winner of Florit's Telegraph Delivery Association's "New Canadian Mother of the Year" Award.

In 1960 it was Mrs H.B. Struivig de Groot of Regina, Sask. who arrived in Canada with her physician-husband and three children in April 1950 and who earned for herself a special name by establishing in Saskatchewan the first school for retarded children, named after her own son, "Harrow de Groot School".

In 1965 Mrs Henriette VanderBreggen, Peace River, Alberta, was selected for similar reasons, activities especially in the field of social care.

Interest in social problems, translated into active help, is one of the main characteristics of a great number of Dutch women. Therefore these two examples may be taken as being true representatives of scores of Dutch housewives who combine their efforts as homemakers with the care for people outside of their homes, who -for one reason or another- need her care and attention. Their influence on their surroundings must be considerable.

***

DUTCH ARTISTS IN CANADA

I have no complete listing of Dutch artists -or artists of Dutch background- in Canada. This should be kept in mind when taking note of the following names:

PAINTERS:	Be Diemel-van der Heide	
	N. Draale	
	A. Eijsackers	
	A.J. Franck	
	A. Hoogakker	(also graphic art)
	Jan Menses	
	Jan Mirck	
	E. Oudendag	(portraits)
	L. Rampen	(decors)
	B. Schuh	(also sculpture)
	Ch. Stegeman	
	H. van Bentum	
	Dick van den Hoogen	
SCULPTORS:	J. Drenters	
	Mol	
	P. van Yperen	
STAINED GLASS	Frans Cuppeus	
	K. Versteeg	

***

STATISTICAL DATA

Studying various sources of statistical material is one way to get thouroughly confused on the final issue: how many Dutch immigrants have come to Canada over the years?

Dutch sources will answer this question by taking into consideration all those Dutch residents who left the Netherlands in order to establish themselves in "America" or "North America", older sources not distinguishing between The United States of America and Canada. It must be admitted that around 1900 not many Dutch emigrated to Canada as shown before.

Canadian sources will show "immigration of Dutch people" no matter from which part of the world they came and entered into Canada. Dutch immigrants have left the Netherlands, the United States, former Netherlands Indies, and scores of other countries in order to establish themselves over here. Small wonder that comparison of statistical data is next to impossible, as the basis for these compilations of figures was different for various sources.

However, not knowing whether certain statistics are known to the Commission, I am supplying material from Dutch sources, for the experts to judge whether this material could shed any extra light on the matter discussed.

No effort is made on my part to try and reconcile these data from various sources.

1. ADMISSION INTO THE UNITED STATES OF DUTCH PERSONS

Source: U.S. Statistics; no Dutch statistics available or, if available, not reliable. Quoted by J.A.A. Hartland (see Bibliography hereafter)

1830 - 1840	1,412	
1841 - 1850	8,251	
1851 - 1860	10,789	
1861 - 1870	9,102	
1871 - 1880	16,541	
1881 - 1890	53,701	
1891 - 1900	26,758	
1901 - 1910	48,762	
1911 - 1920	43,718	
1921 - 1930	26,948	Introduction quota system
1931 - 1940	7,150	Crisis period
1941 - 1950	14,860	

2. EMIGRATION FROM THE NETHERLANDS TO CANADA

Source: The Netherlands Central Bureau of Statistics, quoted by "Emigratie", issue 1964, published by the Netherlands Emigration Service. (pages 124/125/126)

1946 - 1953	82,510	*)
1954	15,859	
1955	6,654	
1956	7,651	
1957	11,724	
1958	7,284	
1959	5,323	
1960	5,457	
1961	1,799	
1962	1,553	
1963	1,701	
1964	1,911	
Grand Total	149,426	

*) Details 1946-1953

1946	9
1947	2,361
1948	6,899
1949	6,856
1950	7,033
1951	18,604
1952	20,653
1953	20,095

3. IMMIGRATION INTO CANADA: Dutch men only as compared to Dutch agrarians, age 18 and older.

SOURCE: "Statistical Unit", Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Ottawa, quoted by Dr A.S. Tuinman in his thesis "Some Aspects of the Netherlands-Canadian Settlement Scheme", page 17

Fiscal year	Male persons, 18 years of age and over		
	Agrarians (a)	Total (b)	Percentages (*)
1919 - 1920	17,651	31,944	55.2
1920 - 1921	25,799	61,059	42.2
1921 - 1922	18,399	30,922	59.5
1922 - 1923	16,818	27,845	60.3
1923 - 1924	44,494	84,218	52.7
1924 - 1925	31,931	55,478	57.5
1925 - 1926	33,039	46,963	70.3
1926 - 1927	60,883	80,512	75.6
1927 - 1928	61,727	82,204	75.0
1928 - 1929	73,028	94,861	76.9
1929 - 1930	45,729	74,062	61.7
1930 - 1931	20,049	34,317	58.4
1931 - 1932	1,839	6,664	27.5
1932 - 1933	1,500	5.135	29.2
1933 - 1934	981	3,608	27.1
1934 - 1935	731	2,773	26.3
1935 - 1936	711	2,507	28.3
1936 - 1937	835	2,851	29.2
1937 - 1938	1,300	3,670	35.4
1938 - 1939	1,750	4,133	42.3
1939 - 1940	1,853	4,802	38.5
1940 - 1941	406	4,197	9.6
1941 - 1942	200	3,562	5.6
1942 - 1943	162	2,113	7.6
1943 - 1944	193	2,134	9.0
1944 - 1945	266	2,628	10.1
1945 - 1946	555	6,123	9.0
1946 - 1947	1,225	10,013	12.2
1947 - 1948	5,883	34,098	17.2
1948 - 1949	20,646	52,953	38.9
1949 - 1950	16,392	35,097	46.7
1950 - 1951	16,374	37,176	44.0
T O T A L S :	523,349	930,722	56.2

(*) Percentage of agrarians as compared to total number of males.

4. TOTAL POPULATION AND IMMIGRATION TO CANADA OVER THE YEARS 1851 - 1951

IMMIGRATION FROM THE NETHERLANDS DURING THIS PERIOD

SOURCE: "Some Aspects of the Netherlands-Canadian Settlement Scheme", Dr A.S. Tuinman, Publ. by H. Veenman en Zonen, Wageningen (1952) - Pages 85-86 - With explanatory notes.

* POPULATION *			IMMIGRATION			*	*
Year	Total Population × 1,000	Period or Year	Total number of Immigrants	Immigrants from The Netherlands		Dutch population in Canada	
				Number	%	Number	%
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1851	2,436 a)	1852-1861	202,643 d)				
1861	3,230 b)	1861-1871	185,090				
1871	3,689 c)	1871-1881	367,381			29,662	0.85
1881	4,325	1881-1891	924,682			30,412	0.70
1891	4,833	1891-1901	414,155			-	-
		1900	41,681 e)	25	0.06	33,845	0.63
1901	5,371	1901	55,747	35	0.06		
		1902	89,102	223	0.25		
		1903	138,660	169	0.12		
		1904	131,252	281	0.21		
		1905	141,465	389	0.27		
		1906	211,653	394	0.18		
		1907	272,409	1,212	0.45		
		1908	143,326	495	0.34		
		1909	173,694	741	0.42		
		1910	286,839	931	0.32		
1911	7,207	1911	331,288	1,077	0.33	55,961	0.77
		1912	375,756	1,524	0.40		
		1913	400,870	1,506	0.37		
		1914	150,484	605	0.40		
		1915	36,665	186	0.50		
		1916	55,914	151	0.27		
		1917	72,910	94	0.13		
		1918	41,845	59	0.14		
		1919	107,698	154	0.14		
		1920	138,824	595	0.43		
1921	8,788	1921	91,728	183	0.20	117,505	1.33
		1922	64,224	119	0.18		
		1923	133,729	1,149	0.86		
		1924	124,164	1,637	1.32		
		1925	84,907	1,721 f)	2.02		
		1926	135,982	2,242	1.65		
		1927	158,896	2,465	1.55		
		1928	166,783	2,340	1.40		
		1929	164,993	2,458	1.49		
		1930	104,806	788	0.75		

See A-12

1900 - 1913: Prairies being opened up.
1914 - 1918: World War I.
1920 : Restricted admission begins.
1930 - 1932: Admission severely restricted; period of economic depression.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1931	10,377	1931	27,530	269	0.98	148,962	1.43
		1932	20,591	259	1.25		
		1933	14,382	164	1.14		
		1934	12,476	148	1.18		
		1935	11,277	208	1.84		
		1936	11,643	192	1.65		
		1937	15,101	232	1.53		
		1938	17,244	376	2.18		
		1939	16,994	411	2.42		
		1940	11,324	238	2.10		
1941	11,507	1941	9,329	203	2.17	212,863	1.84
		1942	7,576	146	1.92		
		1943	8,504	131	1.54		
		1944	12,801	159	1.24		
		1945	22,722	332	1.46		
		1946	71,719	2,234 g)	3.11		
		1947	64,127	2,738	4.27		
		1948	125,414	6,997	5.57		
		1949	95,217	6,828	7.17		
		1950	73,912	7,169	9.69		
1951	14,009	1951	194,391	19,130	9.84	264,267	1.88
1961	18,238	1961				429,679	2.35 h)

FOOT NOTES

(6): number of immigrants from The Netherlands as a percentage of the total number of immigrants.

(8): number of Dutch people as a percentage of the total population of Canada.

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a)b) Census of Canada, 1931, vol. 1, Table XXI, p. 132
c) Census of Population, 1941, vol. II, Table 41, pp. 648, 649, 1871-1941.
d) 1852-1925 Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Ottawa, Ont.
e) 1852-1925 International Migrations, Volume I, Statistics.
f) 1925-1946 Annual Reports, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Ottawa, Ont.: Total Immigration to Canada and Immigration to Canada, from Overseas and the United States, by Origins.

The number of Dutch persons (column III) over the years 1900-1945 mentioned has been computed over the "fiscal year" (april 1 - march 31). However, no other reliable figures are available. As in the months january-april not many immigrants enter the country, no errors of any importance will be risked by using data computed over the fiscal year and comparing these data with figures computed over the calendar year.

g) 1946-1951 Annual Reports, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Ottawa, Ont. Total Immigration to Canada and Immigration to Canada, showing Country of Last Permanent Residence.
h) All data shown in columns (7) and (8) have been taken from material contained in documentation provided by the Royal Commission.

1939-1945: World War II.
1945 : Admission liberalized.
1948 : Displaced Persons.
1950 : Start Korean War

1946: War brides.
1947: First year "Neth.Can. Settl. Scheme".
1950: Start admission non-agrarians.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

	TITLE and YEAR OF PUBLICATION	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER
1.	Enige Aspecten van de Hedendaagse Migratie van Nederlanders naar Canada(1952)	Dr A.S. Tuinman	H. Veenman en Zonen, Wageningen.

* Doctoral thesis. Discusses overall immigration problems, accent on agrarians. Very conscientiously done, clear, informative; ample statistical material.

2.	Streekrapporten. (1956)	Office of the Attache for Agricultural and Emigration Affairs	Royal Netherlands Embassy, Ottawa,Ont.

* Regional reports on agricultural districts in Canada; written under supervision of Dr A.S. Tuinman.

3.	Census of Canada (various years)	Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, Ont.	
4.	Recommendations of the Netherlands Emigration Council concerning Emigration Policy (1961)	Emigration Council, The Hague.	

* These recommendations were submitted to the Minister of Social Affairs and Public Health concerning the emigration policy to be persued by the Netherlands Government.

5.	Nederlands Emigratie Fonds (1959) Werkplan		

* A plan for promotion of dutch activities in the immigration countries with the accent on the dutch emigrant as "goodwill ambassador"

6.	Emigratie (1953....1964)	Department of Social Affairs and Public Health in the Netherlands.	-Same.

* A collection of year books, containing detailed reports on emigration problems and the institutions etc. involved.

7.	Statistisch Zakboek (1964)	Central Bureau of Statistics, The Hague	Uitgeversmaatschappij W. de Haan N.V.,Zeist
8.	De Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Emigratie tot de Tweede Wereldoorlog (1959)	J.A.A. Hartland	Dept. of Social Aff. and Public Health

* An excellent study, done with a keen eye for historical andactual detail. Discusses dutch emigration from the earliest days to any country where dutch emigrants ever settled. Accent on motivation and circumstances. Somewhat repetitive, but clear, done in an absolutely objective style. I used this book for the historical part of my essay, which mirrors it's main contents as far as Canada is concerned, completing the history of dutch emigration to Canada with data from various other sources.

9.	Zo ver de wereld reikt (1963)	P.J. Risseuw	Bosch & Keuning N.V. Baarn

* Actual reporting on dutch emigrants all over the world. Author limited himself to emigrants/members of the Netherl. Reformed Church.

10.	Our History (1959) #2	Can.Cit.Branch	Dept. of Cit. & Imm.
11.	Menselijke Verhouding Tussen Autochtonen en Immigranten (1957)	F.J.Th. Rutten et al. P. Hoeberechts	Nationale Stichting Mens en Samenleving

* Interrelations between autochtones and immigrants. Compares Canada and USA.

12. Digest of the Kingdom of the Netherlands (1962?) Social Aspects — Government Publication, The Hague.

13. International Migration (1963 onwards) Quarterly Review on the Role of Migratory Movements in the Contemporary World. — I.C.E.M., Geneva, Switzerland.

14. Family Life in The Netherlands (1959) — Dr. K. Ishwaran — Van Keulen N.V. The Hague

* A sociological examination of the dutch family based on empirical survey of evidence--- it is stated on the dust-cover, and that is exactly what it is. Going into much detail, this book allows to gain a deeper insight into the mentality of the dutch. Dr Ishwaran has done some very sharp questioning and lucid thinking.

15. Immigration, Facts and Figures (1917) — Issued by direction of The Hon. W.J. Roche, Minister of the Interior, Canada.

16. De betekenis van Canada als immigratieland in het licht van de werkloosheidsverschijnselen in 1954 — Dr A.S. Tuinman — Neth.Govt. Publ.

* A leaflet on Canada's significance as immigration country in connection with the 1954 period of unemployment. Positive conclusion.

17. Canada. Observations concerning agricultural abd economic aspects (1909) — A.H. Hartevelt. — Nijgh & van Ditmar

* Original title: Canada, enige mededelingen op landbouwkundig en economisch gebied. One of the oldest publications I could lay hands on. Conclusion in 1909: "Canada is a country with a great economic future".

18. Toronto en de provincie Ontario (1912) — F.E.H. Groenman, Asp. Vice-Consul — Handelsberichten # 291

19. Economische toestand in de provincien Saskatchewan en Alberta gedurende het jaar 1911 (1912) — Mr Hartevelt, Vice-Consul Saskatoon — same # 292

20. Beknopte inlichtingen en wenken voor hen, die over vestiging in Canada denken (1920) — same # 693

21. Toekomst voor Nederlanders in Canada (1914?) — F.E.H. Groenman

22. Emigratie: Verslag van de werkzaamheden der Centrale Stichting Landbouw Emigratie in 1948 — Govt. Publ.

23. Manitoba, Provincie van Canada (1955) — T. Polet — Christian Reformed Immigratie Vereen.

24. Emigranten als goodwill-ambassadeurs (1960) — Annual Report "Emigratie 1960"

25. Zo is Canada — Guardian Publ. Cy Hamilton

26. Various reports from official dutch governmental and private insitutions on a variety of aspects of emigration, integration, specific problems pertaining to specific occupations, and so on.

27. A great number of essays, articles, etc. on related topics, as found in magazines, newspapers, and so on.

28. Thwarted Exodus (1964) — B.P. Hofstede — Martinus Nijhoff The Hague

* A very thorough scrutiny of immigration and immigrants with a good deal of attention focussed on religious aspects. This book has been a great help.

29. Advies inzake het emigratiebeleid (1961) — Neth. Emigr. Council — Govt. Public.

30. Rapport over de integratie van emigranten in de samenleving van het ontvangende land.(1957) — Emigration Council — Govt. Public.

31. Social implications of the New-Canadian Immigration Regulations (1962)

* Speech by The Hon. Ellen L. Fairclough, the then Minister for Citizenship and Immigration, march 9, 1962, at the Immigration Conference.

32. Developments in Canadian Immigration (1958) — The Canada Year Book — D.B.S.

33. Canadian Immigration, An outline of developments in the post-war period (1957) — Dept. Cit. & Imm.

34. Immigration and Population Growth (1956) — Can. Cit. Council

35. Immigration Issues Today (1962) — Immigr. Section — Social Planning Council Met.Toronto

36. Notes on the Canadian Family Tree (1960) — Can. Cit. Branch — Dept. Cit. & Imm.

37. Canada's Immigration Policy A critique (1957) — David C. Corbett — Un. of Tor. Press

* A controversial book, no doubt, which matches sound thinking with an almost visionary outlook on today's reality and tomorrow's challenges. Maybe the contents could be summed up by quoting: (page XI)

"We face a world in which some ask, as Rousseau does in 'The Social Contract', 'How can a man or a people seize an immense territory and keep it from the rest of the world except by a punishable usurpation, since all others are being robbed, by such an act, of the places of habitation and the means of subsistence which nature gave them in common?'"

and a second quote (page 200)

"The policies Canada adopts in the field of immigration are a test of this nation's citizenship in the international community. We are not yet compelled by a world government to follow policies dictated by the whole world's needs. Yet we cannot escape responsibility to the world community. The world community's sanctions are only moral ones, but they must influence Canada's policy."

38. Planned Migration - The social determinants of the Dutch-Canadian Movement. (1955) — William Petersen — Un. of Calif. Press.

* Describes both Holland and Canada and then compares the two countries in the light of actual emigration/immigration problems.

39. Characteristics of Overseas Immigrants (1961) — Govt. Publication The Hague

* This book bundles four monographs, originally written in the dutch language: a) "De Gaande Man" - 'Those Who Leave' - by B.P. Hofstede, part 1 of this compilation under the title 'An inquiry into the reasons for the decision to emigrate';

b) "Emigranten / Niet-Emigranten" by N.H. Fryda, incorporated as part 2: 'Emigrants - Non Emigrants';
c) "Kenmerken van de Nederlandse emigrant" by R. Wentholt, incorporated as part 3: 'Characteristics of Dutch emigrants', and finally,
d) "Emigranten Overzee" by N.H. Fryda, part 4 under the heading 'Emigrants Overseas'.

One of the best collection of deep probing monographs I ever encountered. Based on questionnaires and the highly intelligent interpretation of the answers and reactions received.

One very interesting quote (page 312):

"With regard to these personal characteristics, Dutch emigrants appear to be neither a cultural elite nor a negative selection. But they are no ordinary cross-section of the people from the milieus from which they derive. ---

People with characteristics as those described above seem particularly well-suited for immigrant-life in some respects, and rather severely limited in their integration potential in other respects."

(page 313)

"There is little doubt, however, that on the basis of the evidence, and as far as both the immigration countries and the majority of the emigrants are concerned, Dutch emigration may be counted a success.
Dutch emigrants, with their limited but definite qualities and abilities, can make and are making a contribution to the countries which have opened their doors to them in their search for new citizens."

In this positive vein -and agreeing to the final conclusion- I would like to conclude this essay.

***

Joseph A. Diening
May 4, 1966.

FINAL REPORT

Author: M. S. Donnelly

Title: Ethnic participation in municipal Government, Winnipeg and areas

Div: IV Contrat no. 4

VOLUME 59

ETHNIC PARTICIPATION IN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

WINNIPEG, ST. BONIFACE,

AND THE METROPOLITAN CORPORATION OF GREATER WINNIPEG

Report made to the

Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

September, 1965

Author: Dr. M. S. Donnelly

Research Assistants: Mr. Walter B. Zyla
Mr. Roger Turenne

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ETHNIC PARTICIPATION IN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

WINNIPEG, ST. BONIFACE,

AND THE METROPOLITAN CORPORATION OF GREATER WINNIPEG

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

I Introduction

This study is concerned with the participation of ethnic[1] groups in civic government and their influence on its processes. While the research has focussed on the period since 1945, the analysis becomes more meaningful particularly in regard to the French if considered against a background of some provincial and municipal history. To claim a relevance for provincial history is not to maintain that by itself it explains the present position of the French in St. Boniface and Winnipeg. The story of the French group is one of steadily declining influence in provincial affairs. While they never did participate in or influence Winnipeg civic affairs to any extent, they were, for many years, the dominant group in St. Boniface but the strong position they once held there has become weak. The French have lost every major struggle that has occurred with the Anglo-Saxon group in both provincial and municipal affairs.

The province began in 1870 in a state of numerical equilibrium between French and English, (Population Figures for Manitoba are found in Appendix I, Table 1) Protestant and Catholic and for a

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[1] An abstract definition of an 'ethnic group' is very difficult to formulate. This study deals, primarily, with the relationship between Anglo-Saxon, French, Ukrainian, and German with some reference to the Polish, Icelandic, and Jewish groups.

few years this balance was reflected in the rudimentary political institutions that were created. Electoral districts were, at first, based on parish lines and this almost guaranteed equal numbers of French and English speaking members of the legislature. The first cabinet had within it two English and two French members and a half-breed whose presence, the Lieutenant Governor certified: "would in no way disturb the delicate balance since his father was Scotch, his mother French Half-Breed and though he himself is a Catholic he has two brothers Presbyterians."[2] While the balance between the two language groups existed, the leading principle of government was that of double majority which meant that all important measures required the support of both groups to ensure passage in the legislature.

The French position had begun to slip by 1875 and was continually weakened in more or less direct proportion to the increasing numerical superiority of the Anglo-Saxons brought about largely by migration from Ontario. In 1878, a redistribution measure based, in part, on representation by population gave the Anglo-Saxons approximately twice as many members of the legislature as the French. The French used such political influence as they could command to protect

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[2] Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Archibald Lester Book, Sept. 20, 1871.

their language, religion, and educational institutions and when this was unavailing fell back on the constitutional guarantees of the Manitoba Act and the British North America Act.

The first part of the decade beginning in 1890 was a disaster for the French speaking group. Two pieces of legislation affected their interests. One law was aimed directly at them and the other, while equally relevant to their specific position, had broader implications. By a provincial statute[3] of 1890 printing of public documents, including acts of the legislature, in both French and English was discontinued and the same stricture was applied to proceedings in the courts. At the same session of the legislature the school system was radically altered by the creation of a public secular system supported by public funds and under the direct control of a Minister of Education.[4] This legislation was particularly damaging to the Roman Catholic minority and while opposition was by no means confined to the French group it was led by the French speaking clergy and this brought about an unfortunate linkage between language and religion.

Despite their strongest efforts expressed through political pressure and court proceedings, the Roman Catholic minority of Manitoba

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[3] Statutes of Manitoba, 1890, c.14.

[4] For a full account of this controversy see: W. L. Morton, A History of Manitoba, Toronto, 1959.

was unable to overturn the school legislation, but on the question of language of instruction in the schools a compromise was effected. In 1896, it was agreed that: "where ten of the pupils in any school speak the French language (or any language other than English) as their native language, the teaching of such pupils shall be conducted in French (or such other language) and English upon the bi-lingual system."[5]

As Attorney-General of Manitoba, Clifford Sifton had been primarily responsible for the defence of the schools legislation as well as the negotiation of the bilingual compromise of 1896. Sifton became Minister of the Interior at Ottawa in 1896 and it was he who sponsored the massive immigration from central Europe that eventually made bilingualism in the Manitoba school system impossible. A two language system of instruction was possible but became unworkable when the number of tongues was expanded to nearly a dozen. In 1916, English became the official language of education and no other was permitted henceforth.

A. St. Boniface

Two other incidents between 1896 and 1916 which were regarded as important by the St. Boniface French were the 'bridge question' of

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[5] Canada Sessional Papers, 1897, Paper 35.

1904 and the 'splitting of the diocese' in 1915. In 1881, Winnipeg and St. Boniface were joined by a bridge linking Broadway Avenue, one of the formers finest streets, with Provencher, its counterpart in St. Boniface. In fact, Provencher is in a perfectly straight line with Broadway and seemed like a continuation. From the point on Broadway where the Parliament Buildings now stand one could see the St. Boniface cathedral and a good deal of the city itself. In 1904, the Canadian Northern Railway applied to the City Council of Winnipeg for a right of way for tracks and buildings that would cut off this possible link between the two cities. The City Council of St. Boniface, and many other delegations from that city, opposed the application on the grounds that the proposed buildings would obliterate the view, that the alternative proposed was through a slum like area and that Winnipeg in approving the scheme would be, in effect, turning its back on its twin city. St. Boniface, so many argued, would be on "the wrong side of the tracks". The St. Boniface newspaper, Le Manitoba, summarized the feelings of many when the editor wrote: "...we hope that the city of Winnipeg will refrain from passing a resolution which would look like, if not an act of hostility, at least an act little in accord with the rules of good neighbourliness." (March 30, 1904) Despite the protests, Broadway was closed at one end after the Winnipeg City Council approved the

request of the Canadian Northern. This action caused great bitterness, some of which still lingers on to the present day.

St. Boniface used to be the headquarters of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Western Canada and this, in no small measure, contributed to the status of the city. Beginning about the turn of the century, the Irish Roman Catholicsof Winnipeg began to protest the fact that they were under a French Archbishop and very often had to 'put up with' French priests. Their rights as Catholics, they maintained, were always sacrificed on the altar of French-Canadian nationalism. They demanded an Anglo-Saxon Bishop in Winnipeg but the Archbishop in St. Boniface, while he made some other concessions, refused this demand vehemently. After more than a decade of agitation, a group of Winnipeg Catholics went directly to Rome with a petition.

The petition complained that 90 per cent of the clergy were French speaking while only 25 per cent of the population were. The petitioners went on to argue that English was certain to be the only language in Western Canada and St. Boniface would be absorbed by Winnipeg as a great deal of the most valuable property in the city was already owned by Winnipeg businessmen. Rome responded by going further than the petitioners had asked. In 1915, the Archdiocese of Winnipeg was created with Mons. Sinnott as Archbishop. A further and unusual step made the new diocese immediately subject to the Holy See.

This was a bitter pill for the St. Boniface Catholics even though their counter petition signed by 32,000 produced a more favourable boundary revision.

The splitting of the diocese in 1915 was a great blow to the prestige of St. Boniface. Perhaps the most significant result of the split was identification of the French in Manitoba as a racial rather than a religious minority.

It is against this background of continuous loss of status that the participation of the French group in the civic affairs of Winnipeg, St. Boniface and the Metropolitan corporation must be considered.

Provincial history alone does not completely explain the recent position of the French in St. Boniface municipal affairs. The city did not try to make itself a bastion of French rights perhaps because many of these rights were not considered to be civic in character. Even so, some facts are unexplained. In 1870, St. Boniface had twice the population of Winnipeg and yet it took no steps to incorporate, and, indeed, resisted municipalization for some years. Later on, when the boundaries were extended, the city did not protest the inclusion of Norwood which was almost one hundred per cent Anglo-Saxon. Minority status seemed to creep up on the St. Boniface French. They did not, unlike some of the immigrant groups from central Europe,

organize to protect their civic interests.[6] At first, such organization was unnecessary, but when it became needed the citizens seemed unable to create it.

St. Boniface has always been governed under the Mayor-Council system. (See Chart I on Page 9 for a visual representation of the present structure.) The area was first incorporated as a town in 1883 and as a city in 1908. When the French had a majority in the city, they controlled its civic government; when a state of balance existed between French and English, control was shared; and when the English became the dominant group, they called the tune. (For a visual representation see Chart 2 on Page 10; for detailed population figures, see Appendix I, Table 2.)

From 1880 to 1911 all Mayors of St. Boniface were French, as were a majority of Aldermen. Debates in the Council were conducted in French and records were kept in that language. The election of the first Anglo-Saxon Mayor, Thomas Berry, occurred immediately after the French lost their absolute popular majority over all other groups. The day following the election of Berry the editor of Le Manitoba wrote: "...yesterdays' majority was such that we may yet have a French Mayor in St. Boniface - we are not saying <u>all the time</u>

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[6] The "Association d'Education" came into being in 1916 and although its activity covered a broad range of French affairs for the province, it never took an active interest in St. Boniface civic affairs.

CHART I

ST. BONIFACE 1964

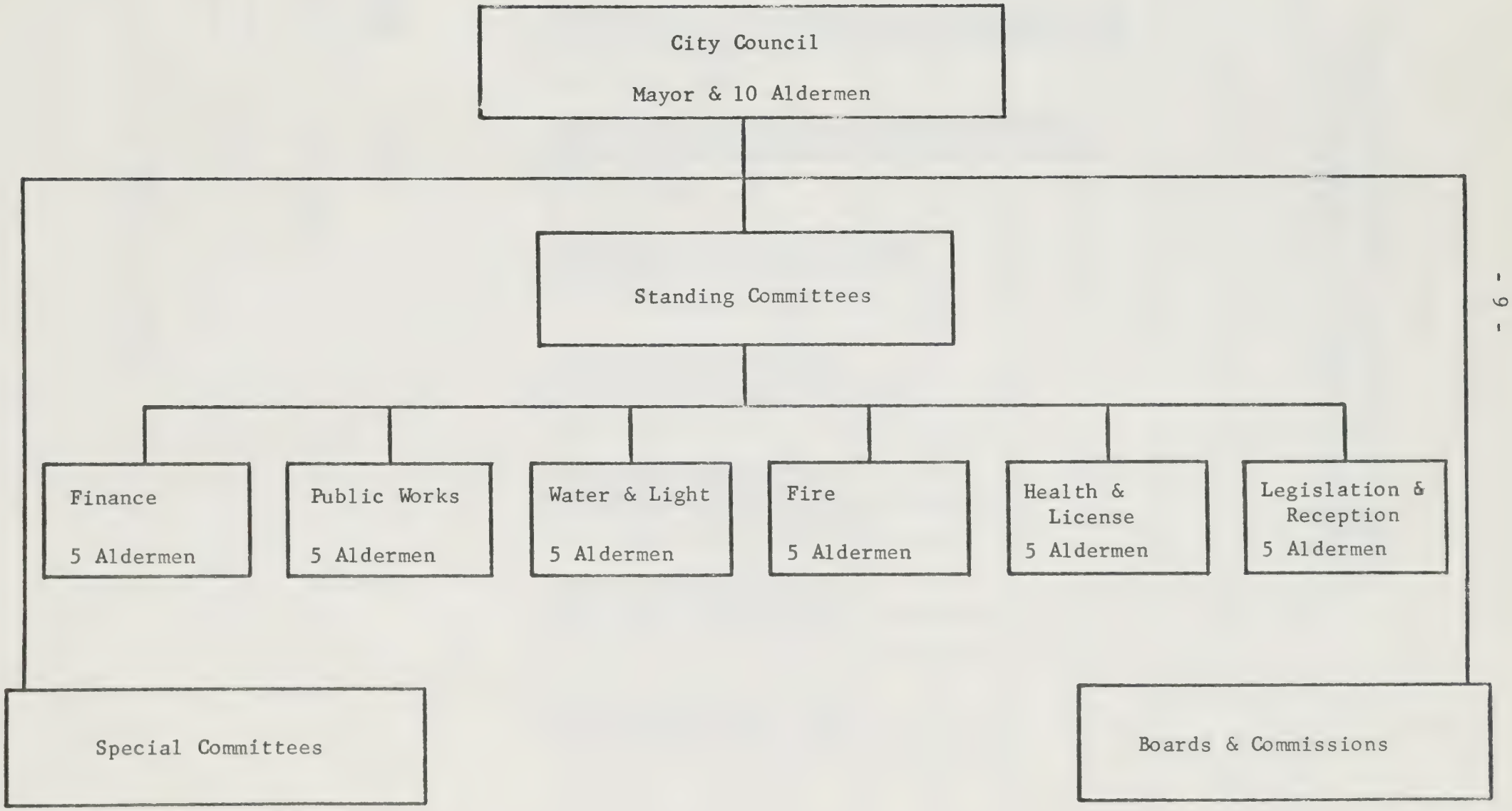
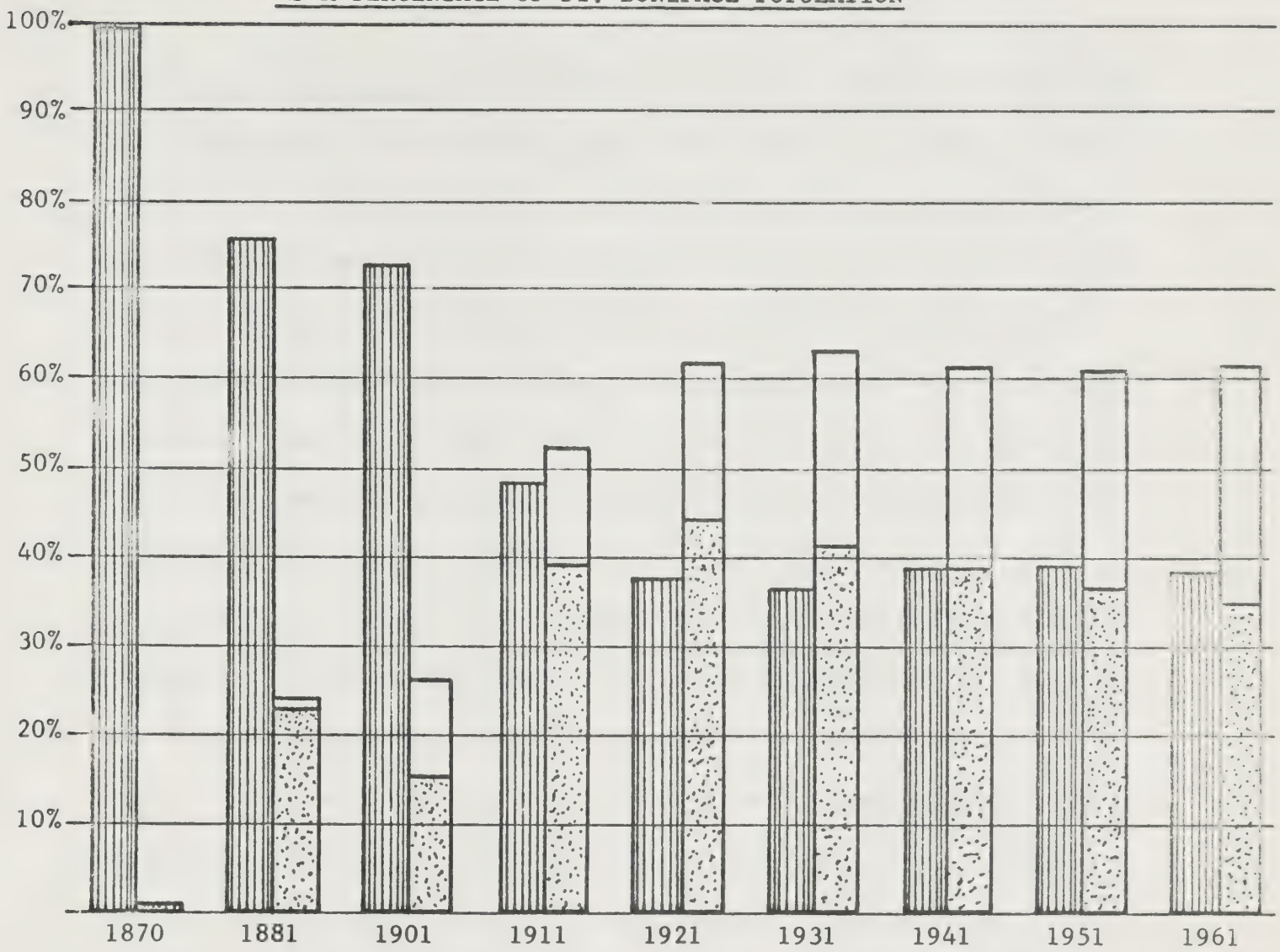


CHART 2

FRENCH, ANGLO-SAXON, AND OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS
AS A PERCENTAGE OF ST. BONIFACE POPULATION



- French

- Anglo-Saxon

- Other

(Statistics Source: Census of Canada)

but when our turn comes." (December 20, 1911) Turns were taken until 1924 and in most elections the group whose turn it was were allowed to elect their candidate by acclamation for two one year terms. Whenever this rule was broken the candidate who was out of turn was repudiated. The bilingual system prevailed for Council business, the keeping of records, and publicity. The system worked well as long as no one group had a large numerical superiority over the other. The French, who saw no chance of regaining an absolute majority, were happy to accept the turn about system. The English accepted the system during a period of uncertainty but when their superiority of numbers became clear the informal agreement broke down. In 1924, the English Mayor, Swain, ran successfully for a third term.

For some years after 1924 the French tried, without success, to elect a Mayor but by 1940 they appear to have given up. Mayor MacLean was re-elected, always by acclamation, throughout the decade beginning in 1940 and on one occassion when he was opposed by a French candidate he swept every poll in the city. Mayor MacLean continued to be successful partly because he attempted to defend the French position in the city. He agreed that the French should have 'a fair share' of the important civic offices and appointed a City Clerk whose mother tongue was French. He established a rotation system between Fire Chief and Police Chief; if one was French, the other was to be English.

Nevertheless, the Aldermanic elections in St. Boniface demonstrated that the ethnic factor remained operative in civic politics. Until 1904, the City Council remained solidly French. In that year, the Anglo-Saxon element which was concentrated in Norwood (Ward 4) elected one Alderman and in the following year another, giving the Ward exclusive Anglo-Saxon representation. In 1910, when Norwood was re-shaped forming two Wards, the Anglo-Saxon representation on Council doubled. The remaining three Wards continued until 1917 to be represented by French Aldermen. A pattern soon developed showing that French Aldermen were to be elected only in the Wards where they had a large majority of the French element to support them. Anglo-Saxons, on the other hand, continued to represent their own ethnic Wards exclusively while making gains, along with other groups, in the French and mixed Wards. (Table 1, Page 13 demonstrates this pattern.)

Among the Aldermen elected, who were neither French nor Anglo-Saxon, the Belgians were most consistently represented. It appears that two factors were responsible. First, the Belgian group, although small in number (see Appendix I, Table 2) settled in a parochial fashion in one section of Ward I and thus found some strength in numbers and in the realization of an 'ethnic community'. Second, a sizeable portion of the Belgians who settled in St. Boniface

TABLE 1

ETHNIC REPRESENTATION ON ST. BONIFACE CITY COUNCIL 1915 - 1945

(expressed as percentages of man-years)

WARD	YEARS	FRENCH	ANGLO-SAXON	OTHER
Ward I				
French majority with a solid community of Belgians	1916-25	65%	10%	25%
	1926-35	30%	35%	35%
	1936-45	40%	5%	55%
Ward II				
Large French majority	1916-25	60%	15%	25%
	1926-35	60%	--	40%
	1936-45	50%	--	50%
Ward III				
Large French majority	1916-25	100%	--	--
	1926-35	100%	--	--
	1936-45	100%	--	--
Ward IV				
Large Anglo-Saxon majority	1916-25	--	100%	--
	1926-35	--	100%	--
	1936-45	--	100%	--
Ward V				
Large Anglo-Saxon majority	1916-25	--	100%	--
	1926-35	--	100%	--
	1936-45	--	100%	--

were, in effect, French-speaking Waloons and assimilated with the French element. Without exception, the Belgian Aldermanic candidates spoke French fluently which, no doubt, contributed to their success in the French Wards.

Other ethnic minorities in St. Boniface did not settle in distinct communities and have not been a factor in municipal affairs.

B. Winnipeg

The ethnic composition of St. Boniface has been relatively uncomplicated in contrast with that of Winnipeg. (See population figures, Appendix I, Table 3.) Despite the early federal policy of settling immigrants in agricutlural areas, Winnipeg was becoming a cosmopolitan city by the turn of the century and by mid-century had become the most cosmopolitan city in Canada.

The question posed for this study is the extent of conscious participation by the ethnic groups in the actual process of Municipal Government. A discussion of this question must logically be preceeded by some description of the municipal system in Winnipeg.

Winnipeg was first incorporated as a city in 1873 but the charter granted by the legislature in that year was repealed in 1886 and until 1902, the city was governed under the general provisions of the Manitoba Municipal and Assessments Acts. In 1902, a new charter was obtained and this act was revised and consolidated in

1918, 1940 and 1956. Except for the years 1907 to 1918 the city has always been governed by the Mayor-Council-Committee system; the Board of Control experiment tried from 1907 to 1918 was discontinued after an unfavourable referendum vote.

The present system of government in the City of Winnipeg is visually represented in Chart 3, Page 16. The Mayor, who is elected[7] by popular vote every two years, is Chief Executive Officer of the city. He presides at all Council meetings, voting only in case of a tie, is a member, ex officio, of all standing committees, chairman of the Police Commission and either chairman or a member of various other special purpose bodies. The Mayor has a veto over all by-laws and resolutions of Council authorizing the expenditure of money but the veto must be exercised within 24 hours of the passage of the by-law and may be over-ridden at the next meeting of Council by a two-thirds majority. Of course, the Mayor's position may be much more important than a formal statement of duties and powers indicates since he is the one elected official who must view the activities of the corporation as a whole.

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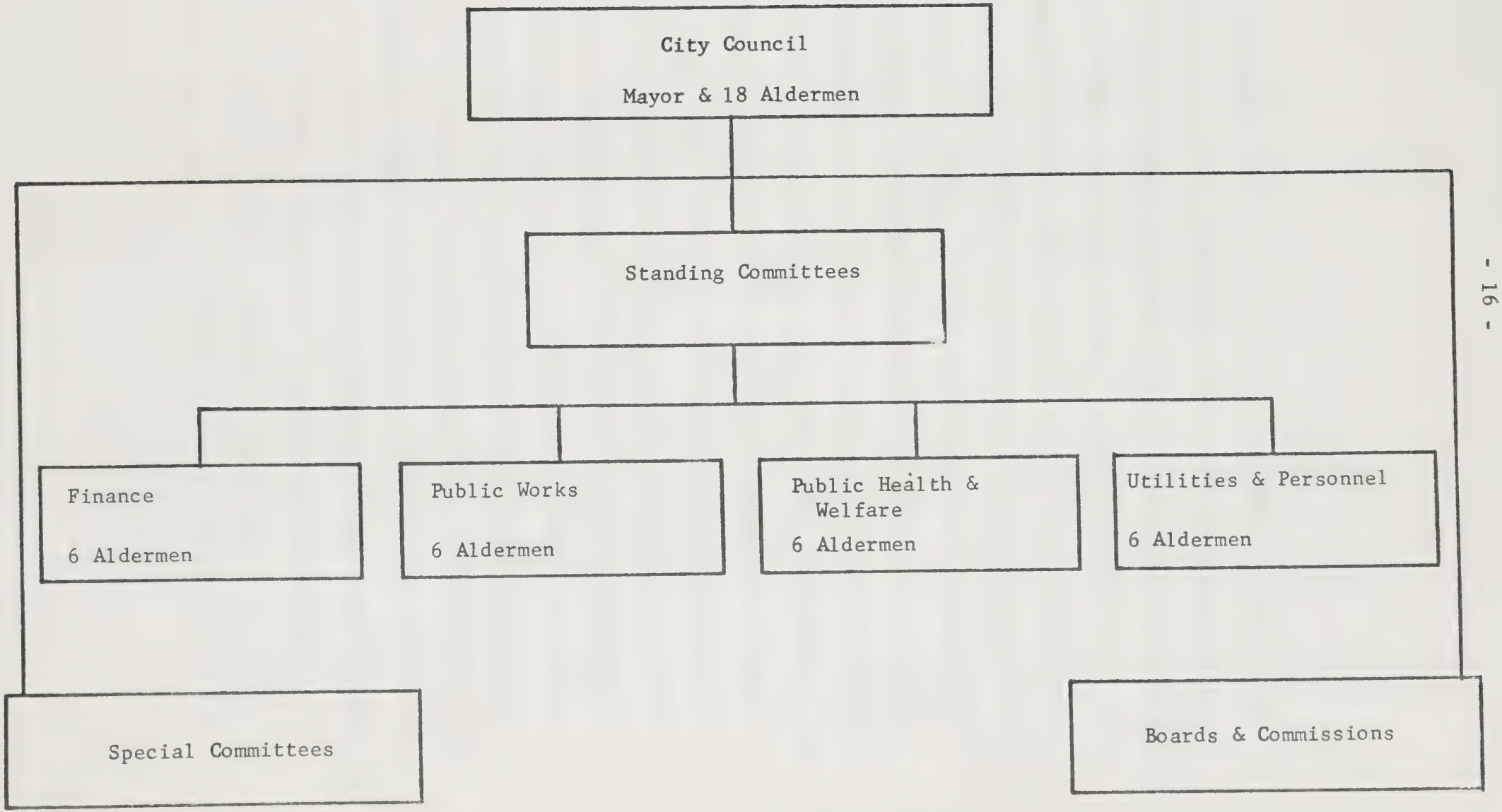
[7] The following are the main provisions of the Franchise for Mayorality and Aldermanic elections - citizen by birth or naturalization, 21 years of age, not disqualified by the charter of any federal or provincial law, residence in city at least twelve months prior to the election. The residence requirement is waived for property owners or tenants of business premises above a stated value.

CHART 3

WINNIPEG 1964



The Council consists of eighteen Aldermen elected for two year terms from three Wards with three from each Ward either retiring or running for re-election each year. The Aldermen, when sitting as a Council, are the legislative body but, in fact, the essence of the city government is found in the committee system. The committees not only recommend policy to Council but they also oversee its execution. Each committee has a group of departments assigned to it the work of which it oversees. The Finance Committee, for example, is required by law, to supervise the work of the following departments: Finance, City Clerks, City Auditor, Legal Survey, Purchasing, and Mayors. The two main characteristics of the Council-Committee system relevant to this study are, first, the importance of the committee chairmanship and, second, the key position occupied by the heads of civic departments. By-law 15330 stipulates that before a committee recommends any expenditure it "shall first procure a report from such officer [that is the head of the appropriate department] as to how far the same is, in his opinion, necessary or expedient with reference to such of the general interests and requirements of the city to fall with the department." Laski's statement with reference to the system in England is equally applicable to Winnipeg: "A committee relies upon its officials not only for expert information and advice, but also for the shaping of its plans, the guidance of policy, the discreet and

tactful criticism of either excessive inertia or over-bold experiment."[8]

II Influence and Participation of Ethnic Groups Prior to 1945 in Winnipeg

It is safe to say that none of the ethnic groups in Winnipeg (with the possible exception of the Jewish group) either influenced or participated in the process of municipal democracy until after World War I. In fact, many of the immigrants from central Europe were, for many years, little more than political pawns in provincial and federal elections. Unscrupulous bosses within both parties bought votes wholesale for money, presents and even naturalization[9] papers. This corruption did not extend to municipal politics since the provincial and federal party systems have never operated at that level, but, of course, people who were open to such manipulation in federal and provincial politics could not be expected to take their civic duties seriously.

Even so, the foundations for ethnic influence on civic politics in Winnipeg were laid during the first two decades of the century. The basis for influence and participation was found in the

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[8] Harold J. Laski, W. Ivor Jennings and Win. A. Robson, (eds.), A Century of Municipal Progress, 1835-1935, London, 1935, p. 92.

[9] Evidence of this is found in newspapers and in the following books:

Woodsworth, J. S., Strangers Within our Gates, Toronto, 1909.
Yuzyk, Paul, The Ukrainian Canadians, Toronto, 1953.
Chiel, Arthur A., The Jews in Manitoba, Toronto, 1961.
Young, C. H., The Ukrainian Canadians, Toronto, 1931.

development of a non-Anglo-Saxon multi-racial community in the North-End or Ward 5. (See Map of Ward Boundaries Prior to 1921, Page 20.) Virtually all the immigrants from central and eastern Europe - Jewish, Ukrainian, German, Polish, and others first settled in the area known as Point Douglas. As immigration continued, this polyglot district began to spread to the north-west and became separated from the rest of Winnipeg by railway tracks, coal yards, and various forms of industrical development. The physical separation of this district from the city heightened its racial distinctiveness and it became a refuge for those who could not speak English. A housing survey of the Point Douglas area carried out in 1918 showed that 87 per cent of the inhabitants were of foreign birth "most of them Jews and Ukrainians."[10]

Since the Point Douglas area corresponded roughly with what was then Ward 5 of the city, a break in the tradition of a strictly Anglo-Saxon Council was inevitable. However, the ethnic participation during these early years was largely the result of an accidental numerical concentration of immigrants in one Ward. Among the several organizations[11] that grew up in the larger ethnic groups,

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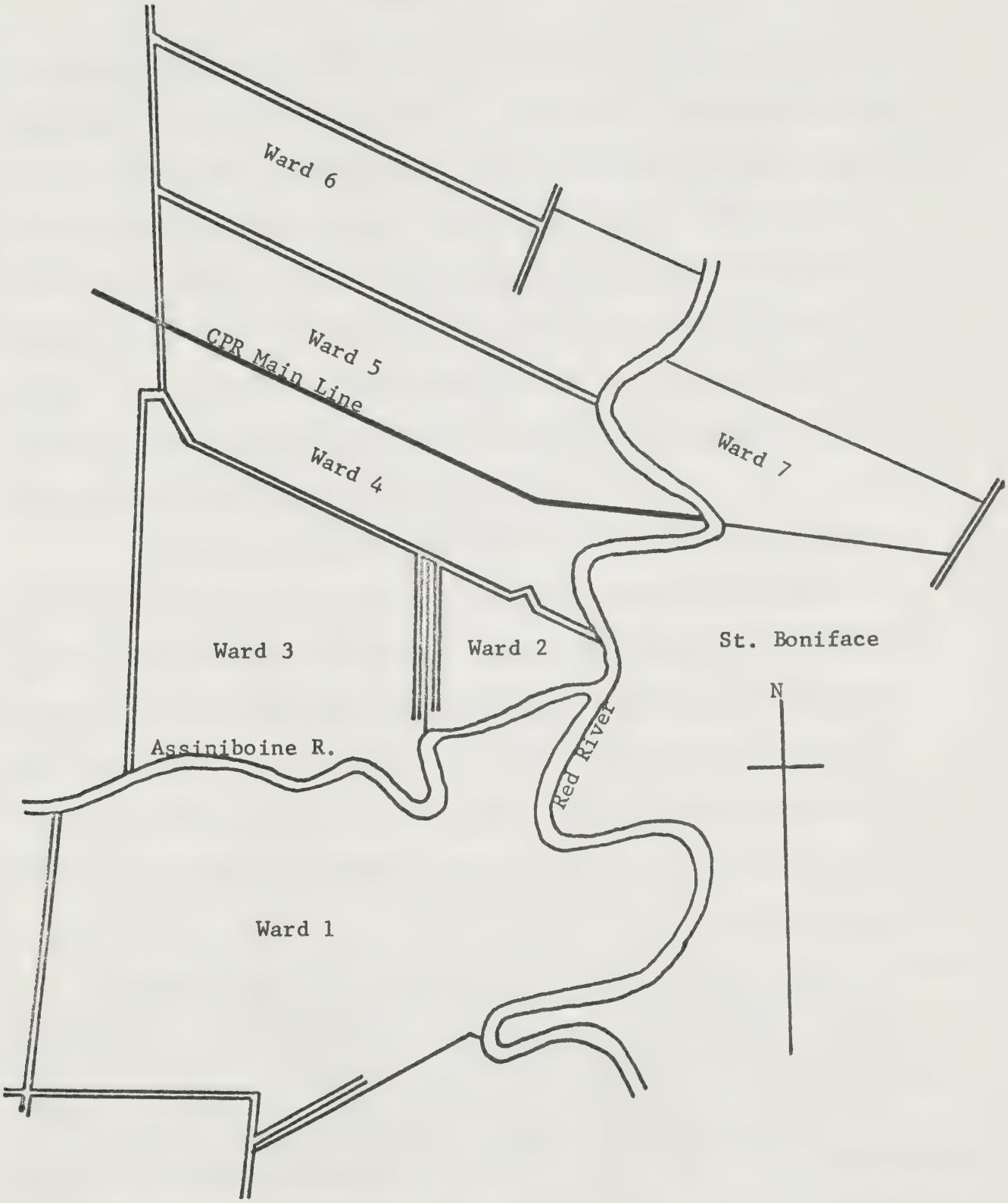
[10] M. Marunchak, Studiji Do Istoriji Ukraintsiw Kanady, Winnipeg, 1964, p. 28.

[11] The church was of fundamental importance in all ethnic groups. In addition to their Synagogues the (Footnote continued on Page 21)

MAP OF WINNIPEG WARD BOUNDARIES

PRIOR TO 1921



not one assigned itself the task of promoting representation of its respective group in civic politics. Indeed, all the organizations created reflected an inwardness, a self-sufficiency, and an inability to make meaningful contact with the larger society. Most ethnic groups were, prior to 1914, characterized by internal dissension based on political and religious conflicts that had originated in Europe. The entry of non-Anglo-Saxons into civic politics was the result of personal initiative on the part of the candidates rather than sponsorship by organized groups.

The first representative[12] of the North-End on the City Council came through the Jewish group in 1904 (Louis Wertheim, a Jewish candidate, had run in 1895 but was defeated). In 1904, Moses Finkelstein, who had emigrated from Russia in 1882, was elected and some years later looking back on his entry into politics, wrote: "It was in 1904 that some of our people began to think seriously that we had reached the stage where we should have recognition, that

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[11] (Footnote continued from page 19) Jews created schools, athletic and cultural organizations, mutual help and sick benefit societies, reading clubs, drama societies, scout troops, an orphanage and an employment bureau. In 1905, the Ukrainian group created the Mutual Benefit Association of St. Nicholas and a Ukrainian Book Store. Many reading societies grew up as did several newspapers. A school to train Ukrainian teachers started in 1905. Comparable but less comprehensive organizations were created by the Icelandic and German groups.

[12] The first non-Anglo-Saxon on the City Council was Arni Frederickson, an Icelandic who was elected in 1892.

we were paying taxes to the city of a very large amount, and that we should have a representative in the City Council."[13] In 1912, Ward 5 returned two 'ethnic candidates' - Altar Skaletar, a Jewish community leader and T. Stefanik, a Ukrainian. The North-End newspaper, Canadian Israelite, supported Skaletar and noted: "The North-End has been too long neglected by our civic fathers. Sanitary conditions are appaling; street conditions are horrible. There is need for a forthright spokesman on our behalf."[14] When news of the election of Stefanik became known he was taken by his followers down Main Street in a wheelbarrow amid "great celebrations".

Clearly, this polyglot community had need for representatives on Council. Many wanted someone who knew the problems of his own people, spoke their language, and could translate their views and needs into the language of the Anglo-Saxon ruling group. While the basis had been laid, there was very little participation[15] by immigrant

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[13] Arthur A. Chiel, The Jews in Manitoba, Toronto, 1961, p. 173.

[14] Ibid., p. 178.

[15] While it is beyond the terms of reference of this study, the multiplicity of racial groups in Winnipeg and Manitoba generally did have a major, if indirect effect on the school system. Taking advantage of the bilingual compromise of 1896 many ethnic groups conducted school instruction in their own language. In 1906, the provincial government passed legislation making it compulsory for all schools to fly the Union Jack, and speaking in the legislature Premier Roblin said: "I think the man (Footnote continued on page 23)

groups prior to 1914 and the war set back further developments by a decade.

In 1914, naturalization of all people who had come to Canada from enemy countries was suspended as it was for immigrants from allied countries if the home government so requested. This prohibition affected nearly all the immigrants from central Europe who were without papers. In 1920, these provisions were, to the complete consternation of many, extended for ten years. They were, however, dropped in 1923. Suspension of naturalization proceedings also carried with it withdrawal of the franchise in municipal, provincial, and federal elections. The publication of newspapers in a foreign language was banned in 1914 but this was later modified by requiring translation into English in a parallel column. Public meetings in 'enemy' languages were also prohibited. Various forms of discrimination were practised. The Free Press noted, with reference to Germans, Poles, and Ukrainians: "They are prosecuted by the thousands, they are interned, they are dismissed from their employment and their applications for work are not entertained." (July 17, 1916).

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[15] (Footnote continued from page 22) who comes from a foreign country in order to benefit his circumstance and objects to perpetuating the glories of our flag and declines to have his children enured with British patriotism, is a man that is undesirable." (Canadian Annual Review, 1906, p. 448). For ten years after 1906 the Manitoba Free Press carried on a relentless campaign against "balkanization of the school system." In 1916, the bilingual clause was abolished and all instruction had, henceforth, to be given in English.

Hostility toward, and suspicion of, the 'alien' was general throughout the country but was heightened in Winnipeg by the General Strike of 1919. For six weeks beginning in early May the city was virtually brought to a standstill. Many prominent citizens saw the strike as an attempt at revolution and the seizure of power by 'aliens and foreigners'. One example, from among many, will indicate how bitter the feelings became. In 1919, "The Committee of One Thousand", which was formed to oppose the Strike Committee and which included many of the city's prominent business men, issued a leaflet. The leaflet juxtaposed a caricature of an 'alien' holding a bomb and a Union Jack floating in the breeze. The alien was described as one: "who openly or secretly supported Germany and Austria during the war, who contributed money for bombs used in blowing up munitions plants on this continent, who danced for joy when the Lusitania was destroyed, who rejoiced over the long lists of Canadian casualties... who did everything in their power to hinder Canada's war effort, to prevent re-inforcements from being sent overseas, ... who are doing everything in their power, at the present moment, to prevent babies and invalids, including the sick returned soldiers...from obtaining milk."[16]

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[16] From a bulletin issued in 1919 by the Committee of One Thousand.

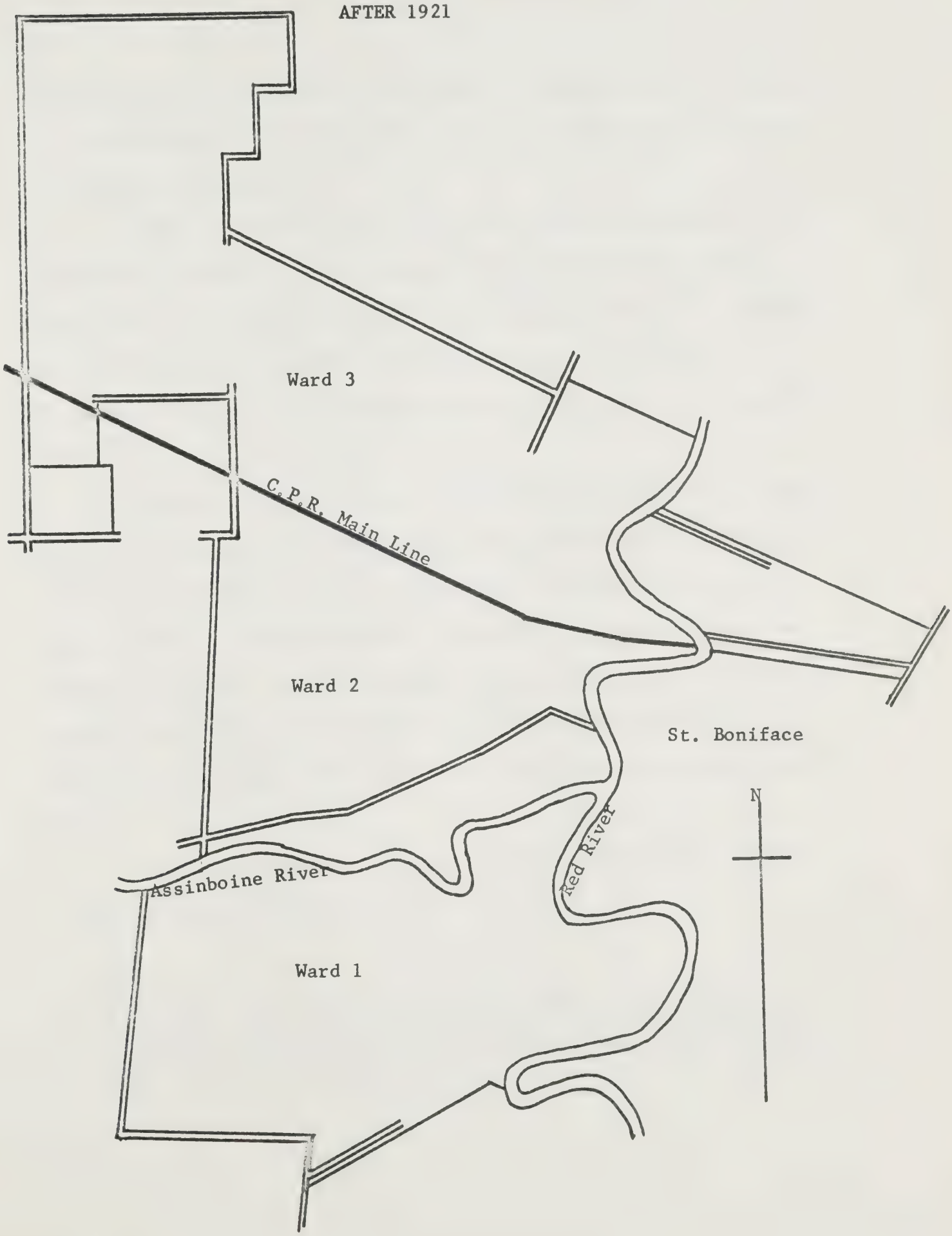
To the end of World War II all the Mayors of Winnipeg were Anglo-Saxons, even though for about twenty years of that period other groups constituted a substantial part of the population. (See population figures, Appendix I, Table 3). In sixty-nine Mayorality elections only two 'ethnic' candidates contested this position; in 1929 and 1930 a Jewish candidate, M. Hyman, ran and in 1931 and 1932, Jacob Penner was a candidate. Both were sponsored by the Labour Party and both were defeated. Anglo-Saxon dominance in the highest civic office gradually caused the other racial groups to realize that electoral success depended on solid support from their own kind. The need for reliance on their own group in politics was a part of the same process that had taken place in the social sphere and gave rise to slogans such as the one commonly used by the Ukrainians at election time - SUIY DO SVOHO (each to his own kind). This slogan describes very well the pattern of Winnipeg Council elections.

A very strong correlation developed after the anti-alien feeling of the war had died down between the ethnic composition of the Wards and the ethnic origin of the successful candidate for Alderman.

Ward I (see Map of Ward Boundaries After 1921, page 26) has returned Anglo-Saxon Aldermen throughout its history. This electoral area in the southern part of the city was settled by

MAP OF WINNIPEG WARD BOUNDARIES

AFTER 1921



Anglo-Saxons and while other groups have, as their social and economic situation permitted, moved in, they have no noticeable influence on Aldermanic elections.

Ward 3, which has for many years been predominately[17] non-Anglo-Saxon, has since 1921 consistently elected non-Anglo-Saxon candidates. In 1921, J. Blumberg, a man of Jewish origin was elected and in 1927, he was joined on the Council by W. N. Kolisnyk, a Ukrainian. By 1945, only one Alderman of six from Ward 3 was Anglo-Saxon.

Ward 2, developed a considerable concentration of Icelandic and German settlers. In 1932, an Icelandic candidate, P. Bardal, was elected as was another the following year, V. Anderson. Icelandic representation on the Council has, with minor exceptions, been consistent ever since. The German group, which suffered greatly during the war (the offices of their organization were destroyed) have deliberately refrained from political activity organized on an ethnic basis.

A general summary of ethnic representation on City Council by Wards is given in Table 2.

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[17] No records by which to measure the exact ethnic composition of Wards exist. The estimates used in this study have been arrived at by examining location of churches, school records and the histories of ethnic groups that have been written.

TABLE 2

ETHNIC REPRESENTATION ON WINNIPEG CITY COUNCIL 1920-1945

(expressed as percentages of man years)

YEAR	WARD 1 Large Majority of Anglo-Saxons		WARD 2 More than 50% Anglo-Saxon with Icelandic, German and other Groups		WARD 3 Majority of Non-Anglo-Saxon - Ukrainian, Jewish, Polish, Etc.	
	Anglo-Saxon	Other	Anglo-Saxon	Other	Anglo-Saxon	Other
1921-25	100%	--	100%	--	83%	17%
1926-30	100%	--	100%	--	70%	30%
1931-35	100%	--	77%	23%	64%	36%
1936-40	100%	--	73%	27%	57%	43%
1941-45	100%	--	80%	20%	30%	70%

Evidence of a heightened interest in civic elections because of 'ethnic factors' seems clear. In 1927, for example, when Kolisnyk, a Ukrainian, ran for Alderman the turn out at the polls in Ward 3 jumped almost 10 per cent from the previous year and was over 6 per cent above the highest turnout for any previous year. From 1927-1945 the turn out in Ward 3 has been the highest in the city. Literacy (that is, ability to read English) was not a test for voting in civic elections until 1940 and there is considerable evidence that efforts were made, primarily by ethnic organizations, to bring the illiterate voter to the polls so that he could declare his support verbally. This point is demonstrated in Table 3, page 30.

While there is evidence of a growing political consciousness among the ethnic groups of Ward 3, which prior to 1945 manifested itself primarily in the election of Aldermen, there is very little to indicate that the non-Anglo-Saxons had penetrated the civic service. In 1921, the civic service was 94 per cent Anglo-Saxon and by 1941, 90 per cent (as compared with 63 per cent in 1964). Small numbers of Ukrainian, German, Polish and others were employed largely for manual labour.

TABLE 3

ILLITERATE VOTES

I.e. CCDN'T READ. SPEAK. ENGLISH

YEAR	WARD 1	WARD 2	WARD 3
1931	0	0	1,384
1932	14	18	1,484
1933	8	24	1,513
1934	36	8	1,628
1935	61	92	1,441
1936	36	124	1,417
1937	8	20	1,580
1938	6	49	1,573

Source: Office of the City Clerk, Winnipeg. (Records were not kept prior to 1931).

CHAPTER II

ELECTORAL STUDIES

I. St. Boniface

As pointed out previously, the French in St. Boniface virtually lost control of civic government in the early nineteen twenties. It now appears, in 1965, that they are attempting to establish a new balance within which they will have a more effective voice in the affairs of the city. While it is impossible to pin-point the reasons for this change, several factors are relevant, and taken together constitute at least a partial explanation. The new and aggressive spirit in Quebec has certainly produced some re-thinking of the position of the French community in St. Boniface. There has also been a change in the ethnic composition of the city. In 1941, the percentage of French was thirty-eight which was almost exactly equal to that of the Anglo-Saxons. By 1951, the French had a slight numerical superiority and this has increased slowly to about four per cent at present. The main reason for the increase in the French population is found in the migration from rural areas brought about by a considerable industrial growth in St. Boniface.

Beginning in 1950, the French began to contest Mayorality elections for the first time in nearly two decades. The French candidates were unsuccessful for several reasons. After nearly twenty-eight years of Anglo-Saxon Mayors, it was difficult to break

the established tradition. French interest in an electoral victory was, at first, minimal and election turnouts in French Wards did not increase in the years when the office of Mayor was contested. La Liberte, the only French newspaper, gave scant coverage to Mayorality elections and to civic affairs generally. French candidates who did run were not the most popular. Also, in 1958, much of the French vote was captured by a Belgian who spoke the language fluently. By 1960, however, a marked revival of French interest in the Mayorality election was evident.

A. The J. P. Guay Election

J. P. Guay won the Mayorality election of 1960 with 38.9 per cent of the popular vote which, in 1961, was almost exactly the percentage of French in St. Boniface. The results, when broken down by Ward and polling subdivision show that Guay was, in fact, elected by the French vote. The following table presents the relationship between the ethnic composition of the different subdivisions and the candidate voted for.

Table 1 shows that Guay won every subdivision which had a French majority. Moreover, there was a very close relationship between the exact proportion of French in the subdivision and the proportion of the vote cast for Guay. The discrepancy ranges from

TABLE 1

CORRELATION OF ETHNIC ORIGIN AND VOTE IN THE MAYORALTY ELECTION OF 1960

(by per cent, in Ward and Subdivision)

Ward and Subdivision	% of French in Subdivision	% vote for J. P. Guay	Discrepancy - %
Ward 1			
S.D. 1	54	47.0	-7.0
S.D. 2	31	32.1	+1.1
S.D. 3	32	23.2	-8.8
S.D. 4	25	18.4	-6.6
S.D. 5	11	7.8	-3.2
S.D. 6	12	12.6	+ .6
S.D. 7	21	26.8	+5.8
Ward 2			
S.D. 8	79	74.1	-4.9
S.D. 9	73	72.8	- .2
Ward 3			
S.D. 10	80	81.4	+1.4
S.D. 11	58	88.4	[+30.4]
S.D. 12	71	63.3	-7.7
Ward 4			
S.D. 13	23	28.3	+5.3
S.D. 14	30	27.0	-3.0
S.D. 15	34	39.0	+5.0
S.D. 16	33	32.4	- .6
Ward 5			
S.D. 17	30	27.9	-2.1
S.D. 18	15	15.2	+ .2
S.D. 19	9	6.9	-2.1

-4.2 to +2.7.[1] Only one division (the 15th) with an Anglo-Saxon majority went to Guay and it did so with a split Anglo-Saxon vote and solid French support.

The overall turnout of 55 per cent of the votes was the highest in the last decade. The Wards with a French majority showed a higher turnout by 5 per cent than those with an Anglo-Saxon majority. La Liberté, the French paper with a long tradition of being non-political, supported Guay because he was French but emphasized the need for bilingualism (neither of the Anglo-Saxon candidates were bilingual). The paper also argued that "the new Mayor should characterize what is distinctive about the city" to counteract any move toward amalgamation with Winnipeg.

The existence of the Metropolitan Authority had a bearing on the Guay election. As pointed out elsewhere, St. Boniface accepted Metro, unwillingly, as a mid-point between the two evils of amalgamation or chaos. In its brief to the Review Commission of 1963, which was set up to examine criticism of Metro, St. Boniface stated "The French presence in the city strongly colours the life of the city and gives to it a distinctive personality not shared by any other in the Greater Winnipeg area." Guay was taken to represent the "distinctive personality" of the city.

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[1] The figure of +30.4 is omitted from the average since Division 11 is institutional (clergy and hospital). There are no homes in the division.

The main significance of the Guay election is that the French for a variety of reasons rediscovered the fact that they have civic interests to protect and, perhaps, values to develop and they gave almost unanimous support to their candidate. Ethnic issues which had been dormant for so long have once more begun to come to the fore. Since 1960, Guay has won two elections, one by acclamation in 1964 and one in 1962 over two Anglo-Saxon candidates. He has achieved considerable popularity not just among the French group but also among the Anglo-Saxons.

B. Composition of Council

The ethnic make-up of the St. Boniface Council reflects faithfully the ethnic composition of the Wards.[2] If a marked change in the composition of a Ward occurs, it is usually reflected in Council at the next election. This generalization may be drawn partly from Table 2 on page 37.

Representation on the St. Boniface Council follows ethnic lines and, indeed, the present Ward system provides for this even though it violates the principle of representation by population. The following Table (Table 3) indicates the marked disparity of population in the five Wards.

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[2] See Map of St. Boniface Ward Boundaries on page 36.

MAP OF ST. BONIFACE WARD BOUNDARIES

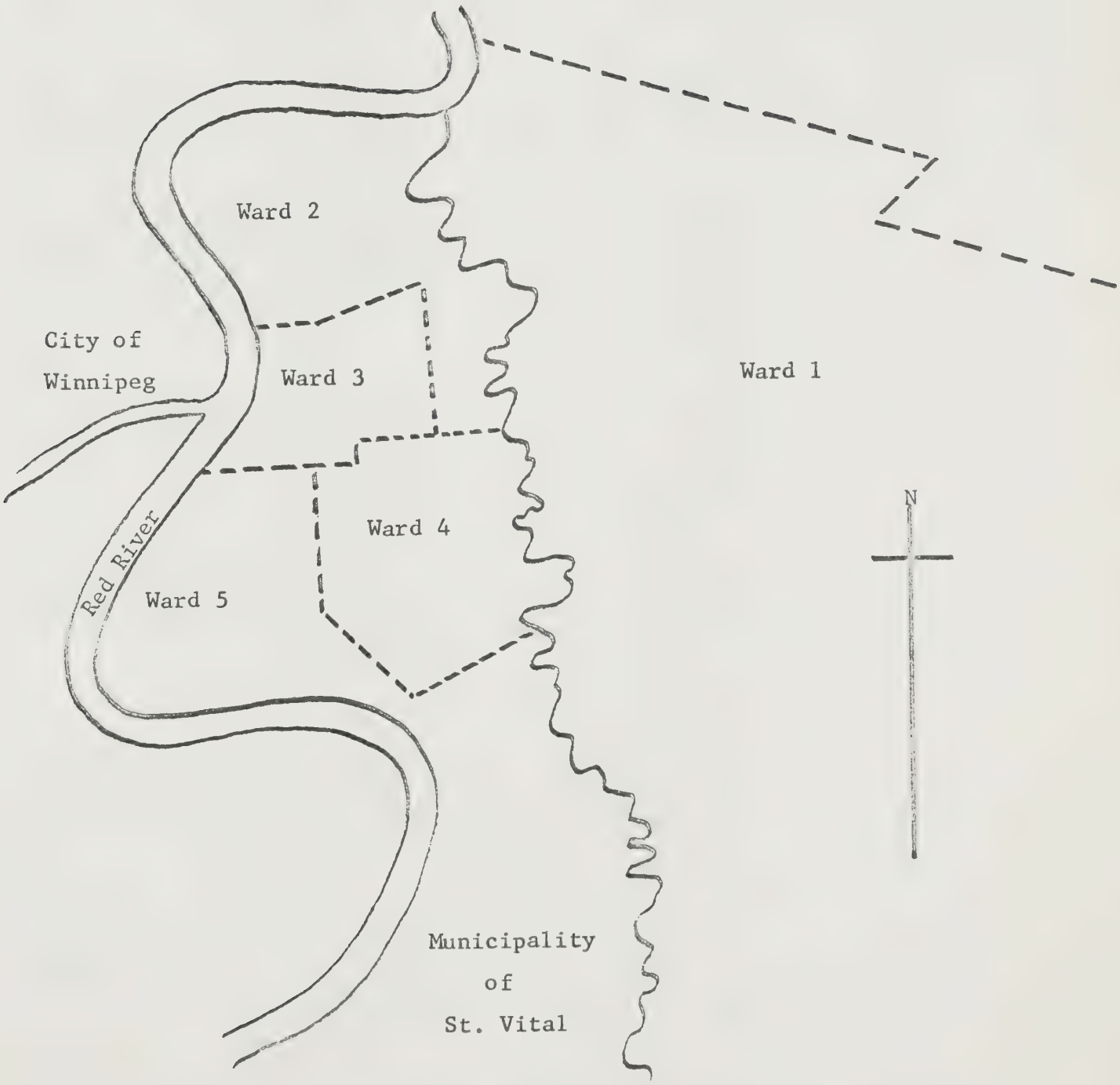

TABLE 2

CORRELATION BETWEEN ETHNIC COMPOSITIONS OF WARDS AND

ALDERMANIC COUNCILS 1946-65 - ST. BONIFACE

(expressed as percentage on a man year basis)

Ethnic Composition of Ward	Years	French Aldermen	Anglo-Saxon Aldermen	Other Aldermen
Ward 1				
Changing from French Belgian Plurality to Anglo-Saxon majority[3]	1946-50	--	--	100
	1951-55	--	--	100
	1956-60	--	30	70
	1961-65	20	80	--
Ward 2				
French majority in heterogeneous Ward	1946-50	80	--	20
	1951-55	70	--	30
	1956-60	50	20	30
	1961-65	50	50	--
Ward 3				
Heavy French majority	1946-50	100	--	--
	1951-55	100	--	--
	1956-60	100	--	--
	1961-65	80	--	20
Ward 4				
Changing from Anglo-Saxon majority to a plurality	1946-50	30	70	--
	1951-55	30	70	--
	1956-60	--	100	--
	1961-65	--	100	--
Ward 5				
Heavy Anglo-Saxon majority	1946-50	--	100	--
	1951-55	--	100	--
	1956-60	--	100	--
	1961-65	--	100	--

[3] In the late 1950's a large residential development tripled the size of Ward 1 and brought in mostly Anglo-Saxons.

TABLE 3

ST. BONIFACE POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY WARDS

Ward	Population
1	9,772 (changing from French-Belgian plurality to Anglo-Saxon majority)
2	2,675 (large French majority)
3	3,577 (large French majority)
4	4,257 (Anglo-Saxon majority becoming a plurality)
5	3,864 (large Anglo-Saxon majority)

If the Wards were changed to achieve a rough population equality, the present system of representation based on ethnic origin might be upset. The last redistribution in the Wards was in 1910.[4]

II Winnipeg

A. The Position of the French in Winnipeg

Even though there are 13,945 people of French origin in Winnipeg, they are not and never have been a factor on the Council or in the civic administration. (See Appendix for detailed figures) If language use is accepted as an index, there has been a steady

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[4] See Map of St. Boniface Ward Boundaries on page 36.

process of assimilation going on. This point is demonstrated clearly in Table 4.

TABLE 4

POPULATION BY ETHNIC ORIGIN AND MOTHER TONGUE FOR

WINNIPEG, ST. BONIFACE & METRO

1961

	Anglo-Saxon	%	French	%	Other	%
Winnipeg						
Ethnic Origin	113,615	43	13,945	5	137,769	52
Mother Tongue	173,768	65	7,496	2.8	84,165	32.2
St. Boniface						
Ethnic Origin	13,116	34.9	14,404	38.3	10,080	26.8
Mother Tongue	19,536	52	13,370	35.6	4,694	12.4
Metro						
Ethnic Origin	213,964	45	39,777	8.3	222,248	46.7
Mother Tongue	323,378	68	27,882	5.8	124,729	26.2

The French in Winnipeg do not form a cohesive group but, on the contrary, are dispersed throughout the city. Many have come from rural Manitoba and have settled wherever their job took them. Those who find their French origin a source of identification tend to settle in St. Boniface and accept whatever inconvenience this may cause for the sake of being with their own linguistic and cultural group. Those who settle in Winnipeg, tend to assimilate.

III. Winnipeg City Council, 1945-1965

As pointed out in an earlier chapter, Winnipeg has become one of the most cosmopolitan cities in Canada and is now one of a few in which the Anglo-Saxon group is a minority. The substantial post-war immigration and growing tendency to urbanization have not made major changes in the pre-war pattern of ethnic communities within the city. However, a substantial Jewish group has grown up in Ward 1 and the one small German group in Ward 2 has been greatly increased. The multi-racial character of Ward 3 has been extended to the outer limits of the area.

Ethnic patterns of settlement have played a major role in Aldermanic elections over the last two decades. Not one Alderman has been elected in a Ward where he did not have a community of his ethnic origin to support him. This generalization is illustrated and supported by Table 5 on page 41.

Population statistics, while significant, do not constitute a complete explanation of the composition of City Council. Only those groups which have formed an organized ethnic substructure have been consistently successful. A study of ethnic composition of Wards combined with voting statistics does yield some interesting results. Ward 1, until 1960, always elected an Anglo-Saxon Alderman but in that year, M. A. Danzker, a candidate of Jewish origin, was

TABLE 5

ETHNIC REPRESENTATION ON WINNIPEG CITY COUNCIL

BY WARDS 1945-65

(expressed as a percentage of man years)

Ethnic Composition by Ward	Years	Representation by Aldermen					
Ward 1							
Large Anglo-Saxon majority with growing Jewish community	1946-50	AS-100					
	1951-55	AS-100					
	1956-60	AS-96.7			J- 3.3		
	1961-64	AS-83.4			J-16.6		
Ward 2							
Approximately 50% Anglo-Saxon, 30% others, 20% German and Icelandic	1946-50	AS-83.3				I-16.7	
	1951-55	AS-93.7				I- 6.7	
	1956-60	AS-86.7				I-13.7	
	1961-64	AS-73.3		G-26.7			
Ward 3							
Highest proportion (Ukrainian, Polish, and other Slavic); Jewish, German, Others and Anglo-Saxon	1946-50	AS-30	U-20	G-16.7	J-33.3		
	1951-55	AS- 3.3	U-26.6	G-13.3	J-33.3		P-16.8
	1956-60	AS-10	U-30	G-26.8	J-16.7		P-16.7
	1961-64	AS-30	U-33.3	G- 6.7	J-23.3		P-10

AS - Anglo-Saxon; U - Ukrainian; G - German; J - Jewish; I - Icelandic; P - Polish

returned. A sample analysis of poll by poll voting indicates that nearly 90 per cent of the Jewish vote went to Danzker. While the 1960 election in Ward 1 provides the most striking illustration of the 'plumping' phenomenon, there does appear to be a relationship between voter interest and ethnic contests. Ward 3, which has had many 'ethnic' contests, has registered a higher turnout at the polls than any other Ward in 13 out of the last 18 elections. On the average, the turn out in Ward 3 has been higher by three per cent. However, this evidence cannot be accepted as conclusive, since Communist candidates have been common in Ward 3[5] and their presence may well have aroused voter interest.

Evidence of a desire among Ukrainians to look after their interest in elections is found in the fact that they run the North Winnipeg Election Committee (the constitution is printed in both Ukrainian and English). This Committee plays a considerable role in the nomination of candidates for both City Council and Metro. Within the Committee there have been instances of bargaining between Ukrainians and Poles, each claiming to have the candidate that could deliver the block vote and each aware that if both run, the block vote may be split thus ensuring the election of the Communist candidate.

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[5] There has been at least one Communist representative on City Council since 1927.

Having demonstrated that ethnic patterns of settlement and alignments have a real bearing on Aldermanic elections, it is something of an anti-climax to admit that once elected Aldermen rarely have an opportunity to represent the group that ensured their success. There are few occasions when the interests or rights of ethnic groups come up in Council and most of these are relatively unimportant. Two issues that come up with some frequency are: permitting the auditorium to be used rent free by a group putting on an 'ethnic' concert and the naming of streets. Such 'ethnic' functions as the Aldermen do fulfill are mainly outside Council. Any special occasion sponsored by an ethnic group where city representation is required is attended, not by the Mayor, (who is usually officially invited) but by the appropriate Alderman.

IV. The Winnipeg Mayoralty Election of 1956

As mentioned previously, only two non-Anglo-Saxon candidates ran for the office of Mayor prior to World War I and both were unsuccessful. In 1956, Stephen Juba, a third generation Canadian of Ukrainian origin defeated G. E. Sharpe, the sitting Mayor, and Juba has held the office ever since. (He had been unsuccessful on two previous occasions, 1952 and 1954, receiving just over 30,000 votes each time but falling short of a majority

by about 15,000). While the ethnic factor does not constitute a complete explanation of the results of the 1956 election, it did play a part.

In 1956, Juba was presented with an issue concerning alledged misuse of public money and he made the most of it. The press was forced to admit that Sharpe had shown bad judgment in one instance but argued vigorously that he should be re-elected since "Juba would be a larger risk than the citizens of Winnipeg should wisely take." (Free Press, October 19, 1956) Subtle references to the ethnic origin and social status of the candidate were common and as the campaign developed, they became more frequent and direct. A popular morning radio program was dominated for weeks by the Mayoralty contest and the central issue in the daily radio-telephone dialogue was whether or not Juba's ethnic origin and background made him a desirable candidate. The ethnic press picked up the issue and, for the most part, defended Juba and urged his election. Juba, himself, carefully refrained from making any direct appeal to the ethnic vote emphasizing that he was "not born with a silver spoon in his mouth or a silk shirt on his back".

Juba's appeal to the underdog certainly got him votes but analysis of the voting statistics points to a strong ethnic factor. In Ward 1, which has a majority of Anglo-Saxons (and also some other

ethnic groups in the higher income brackets), 64.5 per cent of the voters turned out (a record) and gave Sharpe twice as many votes as Juba. Ward 2 is populated by non-Slavic groups, Anglo-Saxon, German, and Icelandic and gave Juba a majority of 1,500 votes out of 25,600. In Ward 3, where ethnic groups of a Slavic origin predominate, Juba won by nearly 11,000 out of a total of 28,358. Sharpe got 8,695 votes in Ward 3 but it should be remembered that a very keen rivalry often springs up between non-Anglo-Saxon ethnic groups in that Ward. Breakdown of sample polls indicate solid Slavic support for Juba in Ward 3 but polls of a non-Slavic and non-Anglo-Saxon character frequently went against him.

It is interesting to note that voting turnouts in the Mayoralty elections (as in Aldermanic) are higher when an ethnic element is present. The most striking example is in 1956 when the turnout was higher than at any time since 1938 when, as indicated in an earlier section, there was also an ethnic factor. There were, as Graph 1 on page 46 shows, exceptionally high turnouts in 1952 and 1954 when Juba ran unsuccessfully. In 1958 and 1960 he was elected by acclamation but the turnout rose again in 1962, even though the threat to his position was not severe.

GRAPH 1


WINNIPEG VOTING TURNOUTS, 1945-1964
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
B
M BR
B
M E
BR
M E
BR
M BR E
BR
M BR E
BR
M BR E
BR
M BR E A
BR
M BR E A
BR
M BR E
BR
Symbols:
M - Mayoralty Election
BR - Bylaw - Referendum
E - 'Ethnic' Contest
A - Mayoralty Acclamation
1945
1946
1947
1948
1949
1950
1951
1952
1953
1954
1955
1956
1957
1958
1959
1960
1961
1962
1963
1964

CHAPTER III

CASE STUDIES

I. Civic Service Analysis

A. Method and Procedure

The analysis of the Civic Service was conducted to provide answers to several questions. As indicated in an earlier section, an immigrant who came soon after the turn of the century experienced a very limited contact with municipal government and, indeed, some seemed to fear it as a possible agency of oppression. Participation of ethnic groups in the Civic Service is one index by which to measure changes that have come about in attitudes to Municipal Government. Another question is, to what extent has ethnic origin been a factor in recruitment and promotion.

After careful consideration, we decided to conduct the survey of the Winnipeg Civic Service directly from the records of the Personnel Department supplementing the information obtained by the use of a questionnaire where necessary. There were several reasons for this decision. The Director of Personnel was most co-operative and gave us full access to his records. Choosing a sample of the service to which questionnaires could be sent presented a very real difficulty as some departments are ethnically diverse and hetrogeneous while some others display a marked concentration of employees of a particular ethnic origin. Only a very careful

examination of the records in advance would have given a representative sample. Finally, preliminary enquiries indicated that permission of Council to send a detailed questionnaire would have been difficult to obtain. For these reasons we proceeded directly from city records.

A set of data sheets, samples of which appear in Appendix II, were completed for approximately 90 per cent of the service as of January 1, 1965.[1] Information was extracted on age, education, experience, salary, classification and ethnic origin. Records prior to 1957 were reasonably adequate in giving ethnic origin and where they proved inadequate, particularly since 1957, they were supplemented by medical records and interviews. In cases where the information was still incomplete, a questionnaire was sent and the return on this was thirty-four per cent. A further 8,337 civic employees of 1921, 1931, 1941 and 1951 were classified separately according to ethnic origin and position held only.

The appropriate variables were transferred from data sheets to computer cards. Before this was done, certain groupings had to be made so as to make the numerical ends large enough for meaningful application of the Chi-Square test. For example, some of the numerically small ethnic groups had to be lumped under 'other' and the four

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[1] A total of 4,929 civic servants in Winnipeg, St. Boniface and Metro were included in the analysis. Language use was done separately by interview.

levels of education had to be reduced to three. When the computer analysis was complete, the correlations were tested by the Chi-Square method, and with one exception, which is noted in the text, they are rated as 'highly significant'.[2]

Certain qualifications have to be made regarding the analysis of St. Boniface and Metro. An historical survey of St. Boniface was impossible because records on which it might have been based were destroyed. Also, the small numbers employed by the city did not permit as detailed an analysis as was undertaken for Winnipeg. Metro presented the same difficulty of small numbers and an additional one due to the newness of the service and the fluid state of job classification. Chi-Square tests were, therefore, not used in dealing with the Tables for St. Boniface and Metro.

B. Winnipeg Civic Service Personnel

Our research has proven that ethnic origin is no longer a factor in permanent appointment to the Civic Service in the City of Winnipeg or in the Metropolitan Corporation. Since 1957, no statement of ethnic origin has been asked for on application forms and

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[2] Results of the Chi-Square application are given below all the Tables for which it was used; (D/F) degrees of freedom; (x^2) Chi-Squared; and (P) probability of significant association of factors. Only those relationships with a confidence level exceeding one percent were taken as significant.

there is no evidence that it could be a factor through any informal process such as an interview. Indeed, there is convincing evidence that all appointments are by merit only.[3]

TABLE 1

ETHNIC GROUPS AS A PERCENTAGE OF WINNIPEG POPULATION 1921 to 1961

CONTRASTED WITH ETHNIC REPRESENTATION BY PERCENTAGE

IN CIVIC ADMINISTRATION

Ethnic Origin	1921 % of Pop.	1921 % of Rep.	1931 % of Pop.	1931 % of Rep.	1941 % of Pop.	1941 % of Rep.	1951 % of Pop.	1951 % of Rep.	1961-64 % of Pop.	1961-64 % of Rep.
Anglo-Saxon	67.3	(94)	60.5	(92)	58.7	(90)	50.6	(80)	42.4	(63)
French	2.2	(.5)	2.3	(.8)	3.1	(1)	4.2	(1)	5.2	(3)
Ukrainian	7.0	(3)	8.4	(4)	10.2	(3)	13.7	(9)	13.5	(17)
German	2.7	(1)	6	(1)	5.5	(3)	7.1	(6)	11.4	(8)
Polish	3.2	(.7)	5.1	(.2)	5	(.5)	5.9	(1)	6.2	(2)
Jewish	8.1	(.2)	7.9	(.6)	7.7	(1)	6.6	(1)	4.4	(.7)
Icelandic	1.3	(.5)	1.6	(.4)	1.7	(1)	1.6	(1.3)	1.5	(1.3)
Other	7.0	(.1)	8.2	(1)	8.1	(.5)	10	(.7)	15.2	(5)

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[3] Newspaper accounts of an earlier period, while not charging discrimination, do indicate a considerable amount of favouritism and nepotism. For example, the Free Press for September 24, 1932 describes the Civic Service as "packed full of relatives of heads or sub-heads of departments". A Personnel Department was set up on July 1, 1946.

As Table 1 shows, there has been a remarkable change in the ethnic composition of the Civic Service since 1921. In that year, the service was 94 per cent Anglo-Saxon and the few whose origins were not that were entirely confined to positions of unskilled labour. By 1961, the Anglo-Saxon percentage had dropped to 63 and the service had taken on a heterogeneous character. The Ukrainian group, for example, accounted for 17 per cent of the service (they made up only 13.5 per cent of the population) and of that group, less than a third were doing unskilled labour and 36 or 6 per cent, were in the supervisory or foreman class.

Since ethnic origin bears no relationship to entry into the service, the question for analysis becomes: is ethnic origin a factor in the type of position held and in promotion to a better position? Before attempting to answer this question four variables - education, age, experience and ethnic origin - were singled out and tested individually for the hypothesis that they are significantly related to the kind of position held in the service. It was found, in each case, that the relationship was significant, exceeding the one per cent confidence level of the Chi-Square test. Education, as might be expected, has a great influence on the type of position held. The percentage doing unskilled labour declines from 50 to 3 as the educational qualifications rise from Grade 8 or less to Grade 12 or

better. More than 95 per cent of those in administrative and executive positions have a high school education, senior matriculation or university training.

TABLE 2

EDUCATION AND POSITION HELD

(City of Winnipeg)

Position	Education: Grade 8 or less	%	Grade 9-11 (incl.)	%	Complete Gr. 12, Special Training or University	%
Unskilled Labour	457	(50.49)	329	(15.88)	13	(3.04)
Skilled Workers and Clerical	360	(39.77)	1,479	(71.41)	269	(62.99)
Supervisory, Foremen	82	(9.06)	213	(10.28)	74	(17.33)
Administrative Executive, Dept. Heads	6	(.66)	50	(2.41)	71	(16.62)
TOTAL	905		2,071		427	

D/F = 6 $x^2 = 752.56$ $P < .01$

Age, again, as might be expected, is also a factor. Table 3, shows that the highest percentage of the positions above skilled and clerical are held by those over 40. Just over 6 per cent of those under 40 are in positions higher than skilled and clerical. In the unskilled group, age plays a relatively minor part.

TABLE 3

AGE AND POSITION HELD

(City of Winnipeg)

Position	AGE			
	Under 40	%	Over 40	%
Unskilled Labour	365	(21.33)	434	(25.65)
Skilled Workers and Clerical	1,239	(72.41)	869	(51.35)
Supervisory, Foremen	85	(4.96)	284	(16.78)
Administrative, Executive, Dept. Heads	22	(1.28)	105	(6.20)
TOTAL	1,711		1,692	

D/F = 3 $x^2 = 232.36$ $P < .01$

Experience, predictably, is related to age and when applied yields much the same results. In the two higher levels, positions are held in a ratio of 4:1 by those who have been in the service more than ten years. In the lower positions, as might be expected, experience plays a much smaller part.

TABLE 4

EXPERIENCE AND POSITION HELD

(City of Winnipeg)

Position	Experience: Less than 10 Years	%	10 Years or Over	%
Unskilled Labour	480	(28.23)	319	(18.73)
Skilled Workers and Clerical	1,117	(65.70)	991	(58.19)
Supervisory, Foremen	80	(4.70)	289	(16.97)
Administrative, Executive, Dept. Heads	23	(1.35)	104	(6.10)
TOTAL	1,700		1,703	

D/F = 3 $x^2 = 210.00$ $P < .01$

The series of Tables which follow attempt to measure the relationship of ethnic origin to position held. The question to be answered is whether the ethnic factor is significant when the variables of education, age, and experience are controlled. In other words, all other things being equal, what is the relationship between ethnic origin and position held?

Table 5 on Page 55 shows that in both the unskilled class

TABLE 5

ETHNIC ORIGIN AND POSITION HELD

(City of Winnipeg)

Position	Ethnic Origin							
	Anglo-Saxon	%	French	%	Ukrainian	%	German	%
Unskilled Labour	371	(17.16)	51	(43.96)	190	(32.20)	107	(38.48)
Skilled Workers and Clerical	1,402	(64.84)	57	(49.13)	358	(60.67)	148	(53.23)
Supervisory, Foremen	283	(13.08)	7	(6.03)	36	(6.10)	20	(7.19)
Administrative Executive, Dept. Heads	106	(4.9)	1	(.86)	6	(1.01)	3	(1.07)
TOTAL	2,162		116		590		278	

D/F = 9 $x^2 = 170.37$ $P < .01$

and the supervisory, foremen, administrative, and executive classes a clear cut relationship exists between ethnic origin and type of position held. In general, roughly twice the proportion of non-Anglo-Saxon groups hold unskilled positions while the proportion of these groups holding higher positions in the order of one-half. Only within the skilled and clerical groups are the proportions between Anglo-Saxon more or less comparable.

Table 6 on page 57 examines the relationship between ethnic origin and position held in the controlled group of those who have Grade 8 or less. The percentage of Anglo-Saxons with Grade 8 or less doing unskilled labour is less than that for any other group; when compared with Ukrainian or German the difference is nearly 30 per cent. The percentage of Anglo-Saxons who are in the skilled, clerical, supervisory or foreman position is notably higher than that for any other group. Referring back to Table 2, the percentage for the service as a whole that have advanced to the position of supervisor or foreman with less than Grade 8 is 9.06, the corresponding figure for the Anglo-Saxons is 13.35, while that for the French is 4.16 and for the Ukrainian, German and other, just over 3 per cent.

Table 7 on page 58 shows ethnic origin in relation to education and position held as controlled for those with Grades 9-11. Much the same pattern as was seen in Table 6 emerges. A higher per-

TABLE 6

ETHNIC ORIGIN AND POSITION HELD IN

LOW EDUCATION (Grade 8 or less) GROUP

Position	Ethnic Origin							
	Anglo-Saxon	%	French	%	Ukrainian	%	German	%
Unskilled Labour	202	(39.68)	27	(56.25)	115	(66.09)	62	(68.88)
Skilled Workers and Clerical	235	(46.16)	19	(39.58)	53	(30.45)	25	(27.77)
Supervisory, Foremen	68	(13.35)	2	(4.16)	6	(3.44)	3	(3.33)
Administrative Executive, Dept. Heads	4	(.78)	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	509		48		174		90	

D/F = 9 $x^2 = 60.79$ $P < .01$

TABLE 7

ETHNIC ORIGIN AND POSITION HELD IN

MIDDLE EDUCATION (Grades 9 - 11 (incl.)) GROUP

Position	Ethnic Origin							
	Anglo-Saxon	%	French	%	Ukrainian	%	German	%
Unskilled Labour	160	(11.61)	23	(37.70)	74	(21.32)	44	(27.84)
Skilled Workers and Clerical	996	(72.33)	34	(55.73)	254	(73.19)	103	(65.18)
Supervisory, Foremen	175	(12.70)	3	(4.91)	18	(5.18)	10	(6.32)
Administrative, Executive, Dept. Heads	46	(3.34)	1	(1.63)	1	(.28)	1	(.63)
TOTAL	1,377		61		347		158	

D/F = 9 $x^2 = 92.11$ $P < .01$

centage of non-Anglo-Saxons are in the unskilled class; the situation in the clerical and skilled is more comparable but the same disproportion appears again in the ranks above skilled and clerical.

It will be noted that when the Chi-Square test is applied to Table 8 the correlation is rated as not significant. This means that the variation is due to chance or other unknown factors. It also means that ethnic origin is not significantly related to position among those with Grade 12 education or better.

The next two Tables, 9 and 10 on pages 61 and 62 , again relate ethnic origin and age to the position held; the first Table controls the relationship for those who are age 39 and under and the second for the age group over 40. A new and significant trend appears in the under 39 age group. The Ukrainian and Anglo-Saxon percentages for all classes including the higher positions are almost identical which indicates that the Ukrainians in the younger age group are progressing up through the ranks at much the same rate as the Anglo-Saxons. This conclusion is supported by Table 10 which shows that Ukrainians over age 40 show a concentration in the unskilled and skilled groups but do not have anything like the same proportion as the Anglo-Saxons in the two higher levels. The tendency observed in the Ukrainian group is not repeated for the German and French except in the administrative, executive and department head class. The most

TABLE 8

ETHNIC ORIGIN AND POSITION HELD IN

HIGHER EDUCATION (Complete Grade 12, Special Training, University) GROUP

Position	Ethnic Origin							
	Anglo-Saxon	%	French	%	Ukrainian	%	German	%
Unskilled Labour	9	(3.27)	1	(14.28)	1	(1.44)	1	(3.33)
Skilled Workers and Clerical	170	(61.81)	4	(57.15)	51	(73.91)	20	(66.66)
Supervisory, Foremen	40	(14.54)	2	(28.57)	12	(17.39)	7	(23.33)
Administrative, Executive, Dept. Heads	56	(20.36)	-	-	5	(7.24)	2	(6.6)
TOTAL	275		7		69		30	

D/F = 9 $x^2 = 15.85$ P = .05 - .10 (not significant)

TABLE 9

ETHNIC ORIGIN AND POSITION HELD

IN AGE GROUP 39 AND UNDER

Position	Ethnic Origin							
	Anglo-Saxon	%	French	%	Ukrainian	%	German	%
Unskilled Labour	176	(17.00)	28	(43.07)	53	(18.27)	74	(40.00)
Skilled Workers and Clerical	794	(76.71)	35	(53.84)	221	(76.20)	102	(55.13)
Supervisory, Foremen	51	(4.92)	2	(3.07)	13	(4.48)	9	(4.86)
Administrative, Executive, Dept. Heads	14	(1.35)	-	-	3	(1.03)	-	-
TOTAL	1,035		65		290		185	

D/F = 9 $x^2 = 73.34$ $P < .01$

TABLE 10

ETHNIC ORIGIN AND POSITION HELD

IN AGE GROUP 40 AND OVER

Position	Ethnic Origin							
	Anglo-Saxon	%	French	%	Ukrainian	%	German	%
Unskilled Labour	195	(17.30)	23	(45.09)	137	(45.66)	33	(35.48)
Skilled Workers and Clerical	608	(53.94)	22	(43.13)	137	(45.66)	46	(49.46)
Supervisory, Foremen	232	(20.58)	5	(9.80)	23	(7.66)	11	(11.82)
Administrative, Executive, Dept. Heads	92	(8.16)	1	(1.96)	3	(1.00)	3	(3.22)
TOTAL	1,127		51		300		93	

D/F = 9 $x^2 = 144.32$ $P < .01$

probable explanation is that the German employees of the City are concentrated in the Parks Division and other Departments where the distribution of classes of labour emphasizes the manual labour group. The French percentages may be explained by the recent migration of many rather poorly educated rural people to the urban area, many of whom may well have taken on manual and unskilled labour positions with the City.

Tables 11 and 12 relate experience to ethnic origin in terms of less than 10 years or more than 10 years experience. Both these Tables confirm the tendency seen in the last two tabulations. The Ukrainians who have had less than 10 years experience are roughly comparable in position to the Anglo-Saxons. While this is true for French and German in the foreman and supervisory class, it does not hold true in the other groups. The only explanation that can be offered is that already given for the two previous tables.

1. Summary of Findings

The level of the position held in the Civic Service was found to be closely related to education, age, experience, and ethnic origin. By controlling the first three variables, it was found that ethnic origin was an independent factor, with its own relationship to

TABLE 11

ETHNIC ORIGIN AND POSITION HELD IN

THE GROUP WITH LESS THAN 10 YEARS EXPERIENCE

Position	Ethnic Origin							
	Anglo-Saxon	%	French	%	Ukrainian	%	German	%
Unskilled Labour	231	(22.82)	36	(51.42)	74	(27.10)	86	(44.55)
Skilled Workers and Clerical	717	(70.84)	31	(44.28)	188	(68.86)	98	(50.77)
Supervisory, Foremen	50	(4.94)	3	(4.28)	9	(3.29)	8	(4.14)
Administrative, Executive, Dept. Heads	14	(1.38)	-	-	2	(.73)	1	(.54)
TOTAL	1,012		70		273		193	

D/F = 9 $x^2 = 134.45$ $P < .01$

TABLE 12

ETHNIC ORIGIN AND POSITION HELD IN

THE GROUP WITH OVER 10 YEARS EXPERIENCE

Position	Ethnic Origin							
	Anglo-Saxon	%	French	%	Ukrainian	%	German	%
Unskilled Labour	140	(12.17)	15	(32.60)	116	(36.59)	21	(24.70)
Skilled Workers and Clerical	685	(59.56)	26	(56.52)	170	(53.62)	50	(58.82)
Supervisory, Foremen	233	(20.26)	4	(8.69)	27	(8.51)	12	(14.11)
Administrative, Executive, Dept. Heads	92	(8.00)	1	(2.17)	4	(1.26)	2	(2.35)
TOTAL	1,150		46		317		85	

D/F = 9 $x^2 = 62.11$ $P < .01$

the kind of position held. The following generalizations, while they cannot be taken as conclusive, can be drawn from the analysis.

TABLE 13

i.e. how reliable or useful

Control Group	Chi-Square Significance	Analysis
Table 6 Grade 8 or less	P < .01 (accepted)	From the low education category, only Anglo-Saxons are represented in the highest positions and in the supervisory foremen class, their representation is double that of any other ethnic group.
Table 7 Grade 9-11 (incl.)	P < .01 (accepted)	In the middle education category Anglo-Saxons to other groups are in a ratio of 2:1 in the upper two position classifications.
Table 8 Grade 12 - University	P = .05-.10 (rejected)	In the high education group ethnic origin is not significantly related to the level of the position held.
Table 9 & 10 Ages 39 and under and age 40 and over	P < .01 (both accepted)	In the younger age group ethnic origin plays a smaller part in relation to the position held, than in the older age group.
Table 11 & 12 Over 10 years and under 10 years experience	P < .01 (both accepted)	In higher positions, ethnic origin plays a smaller part among those who have been recruited in the last 10 years. For those with more than 10 years service, Anglo-Saxons have roughly double the representation of the other groups in higher positions.

C. St. Boniface Civic Service Personnel

Since the City of St. Boniface does not have a Personnel Department, new employees are engaged by individual departments. Any balancing of ethnic groups is thus left up to Department Heads. Records available indicate that two factors have been decisive in determining the composition of the service. Bilingual people were required in some of the higher positions that involved working with the public and, for the most part, such people could only be found in the French group. Also, because of the close Anglo-Saxon-French balance in the City that has prevailed in recent years, Department Heads have found it desirable to maintain some equality of numbers and position between the two. The following Tables indicates the effect of these two factors.

TABLE 14

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF ST. BONIFACE

CIVIC SERVICE 1949 AND 1965

Year	French	Belgian	Anglo-Saxon	Other	TOTAL
1949	53 (49)	7 (6.5)	37 (34)	11 (10)	108
1965	130 (57)	17 (7)	45 (20)	37 (16)	229

The French, as the above Table shows, have maintained a numerical superiority which is increased by the fact that the Belgians

generally fit into their group. The group classified as other, are mainly English speaking.

In 1949, the higher positions held by the French were in a ratio of 10:3 to the Anglo-Saxons and the number held by the Belgians were almost equal to the latter. Table 15, which follows, indicates that at present the Anglo-Saxons hold the higher positions in the administrative and department head category in roughly the same ratio as the French. This change has come about because of the declining importance of bilingualism. The next Table, Table 16, shows only slight differences in educational levels between Anglo-Saxon and French employees.

The general conclusion one reaches is that despite the absence of any overall personnel policy, the Department Heads have, in fact, produced a continuous adjustment in the service in roughly accordance with the ethnic composition of the City as a whole.[4]

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[4] For a further description of the St. Boniface Civic Service, showing a breakdown by age and experience, see Appendix I, Tables 4 and 5.

TABLE 15

ST. BONIFACE BREAKDOWN OF EACH GROUP ACCORDING TO POSITION

Position	Ethnic Origin							
	Anglo-Saxon	%	French	%	Belgian	%	Other	%
Unskilled Labour	6	(13)	50	(38)	7	(41)	11	(29)
Skilled Workers and Clerical	29	(64)	63	(48)	9	(53)	21	(57)
Supervisory, Foremen	6	(13)	8	(6)	-	-	5	(14)
Administrative	2	(4)	5	(4)	-	-	-	-
Dept. Heads	2	(4)	4	(3)	1	(6)	-	-
TOTAL	45		130		17		37	

TABLE 16

ST. BONIFACE: BREAKDOWN OF EACH SEPARATE

ETHNIC GROUP ACCORDING TO EDUCATION

	Ethnic Origin					
Education	Anglo-Saxon	%	French	%	Other	%
Grade 1-8	7	(15)	28	(21)	15	(28)
Grade 9-11	31	(69)	88	(68)	32	(59)
Grade 12	6	(13)	9	(7)	6	(11)
University	1	(2)	5	(4)	1	(2)
TOTAL	45		130		54	

D. Lanuage Use - Winnipeg Civic Service

The official working language in every department of the Winnipeg Civic Service is English. Neither French nor any other language is ever used either separately or in conjunction with English on application forms, documents, or records. Applicants for positions are not asked what other languages they speak, read, or write; indeed, those applying for employment undergo a test of English automatically by having to fill out application forms on the spot without help.

In the clerical and higher positions of the service, only English is spoken and this seems to be true even when the communication is a private conversation between two employees of non-Anglo-Saxon origin. The exclusive use of English is a status symbol, sought by everyone in a good position or with prospects of promotion. Some of non-Anglo-Saxon origin have even anglicized their names.

In the unskilled labour force, and among some skilled workers, the use of languages other than English is quite common. Their use is, by custom, largely restricted to personal communication during the daily routine and only in an instance such as German work crews and a German foreman would all instructions be issued in a language other than English.

There are some cases in which quasi-official recognition is given to a language other than English. Multi-lingual returning officers used to be employed in considerable numbers to help those who were unable to read a ballot in English or understand instructions but for the forthcoming election, in October 1965, only two such polling stations are planned. In the case of an emergency, such as fire or accident, Winnipeg residents may call a central service (999) in French, Ukrainian, German or Polish. Some departments, such as Welfare, have an ad hoc interpreting service, although its use is becoming less frequent.

From a random sample of four departments[5] it was revealed that in the positions above (and including) clerical workers, 59 per cent of the non-Anglo-Saxons had between a "fair" and "good" knowledge of their respective ethnic language as compared to 100 per cent claiming to speak "very good English". The remainder claimed to have little understanding of their ethnic tongue and 12 per cent said they spoke and understood nothing but English. Of the 59 per cent who had some knowledge of their language, only 36 per cent said they used it at home and 40 per cent said they spoke it socially, or on special occasions.

Among the skilled and non-skilled labour force, conversely informal questioning revealed that only an insignificant number had no knowledge whatever of their respective ethnic tongue.

On the basis of language, using the Civic Service as a social model, it would seem that when the non-Anglo-Saxon achieves a higher social status in a heirarchy of the dominant group, he is less interested in preserving his ethnic values. An alternative answer is, of course, that he does not find his way up the social ladder of the dominant group unless he has discarded his ethnic characteristics before beginning the climb. Either way, it is clear

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[5] Questions were put to about fifteen non-Anglo-Saxons in each of the Engineering, City Hydro, Municipal Hospitals, and City Hall (Audit, Taxation, Etc.) Departments.

that no straight line of progression exists to lead the non-Anglo-Saxon from his place in the ethnic social heirarchy to a corresponding position in the heirarchy of the dominant group. It appears that an almost conscious choice is made by the non-Anglo-Saxon white collar type; either to forget all remnants of his ethnic identity and pursue a social status within the 'greater' social context or, to reconcile himself with the difficult task of maintaining his ethnic values and hence his social position in the ethnic substructure at the possible cost of slower progress upwards in the larger social structure.

1. Conclusion

The participation of non-Anglo-Saxons in the Civic Service has had no visible effect on the way City business is transacted. The fact that some employees of the City maintain their ethnic identity has in no way interfered with civic administration. Language difficulties, as such, do not exist.

E. Language Use - St. Boniface Civic Service

There are no surviving records on which to base an account of the way language use has changed in the St. Boniface service. Obviously, it was a very real problem and could be described as a

ALSO DID SOME INTERVIEWS WITH COMMUNITY LEADERS TO CONFIRM FROM OTHER SIDE THAT SERVICE. IS ADEQUATELY BILINGUAL.

continued experiment in bilingualism. After 1911, English became the official language for city records but according to those whose memories go back to this period, French was also used. About 1930, English began to be used exclusively for records and debates of Council and French retained a place as a working language among many civic employees. Many of the French employees became bilingual, but the English, for the most part, remained unilingual.

Interviews on language use have been conducted with representative employees of the personnel of the City Clerks Office, Treasury Department, Welfare Department, Fire Department, and Engineering Department. In four of the six it was found that French was rarely used in correspondence, memos, or other forms of office routine. The two using French most often and regularly are City Clerk and Treasury. The City Clerk's Office, which employs three men, all of whom are French speaking, is the only one that operates on a strictly bilingual basis. Members of the public are dealt with in either French or English. Language use for office conversations is determined by ethnic composition. The City Clerks office uses French entirely. In Departments in which the personnel is partly English and partly French, the language of the former is normally used. (The present Fire Chief, who is French, told an interviewer: "If a Frenchman's house catches on fire he phones the Fire Department in

English - he doesn't want any mistake.")

All those interviewed agreed that French is useful but none suggested that the frequency of its use should be increased. No one stated that the civic service has a language problem.

F. Language Use - Metro

Metro is officially English. If a French citizen of St. Boniface comes to the Metro offices to make an enquiry, he will have to speak English. If a letter is written in French, it will be given to one of the bilingual employees for translation. Last year the annual report of Metro was issued in both English and French but the translation was done informally by employees who were familiar with both languages.

CHAPTER IV

METRO WINNIPEG

The Metropolitan Winnipeg Act of 1960 created the second metropolitan authority in Canada; the first being the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, created in 1953. The primary reason for the creation of Metro Winnipeg was growing need for the co-ordination of activities, services and projects being undertaken by Winnipeg proper and surrounding suburban units and municipalities.[1] Under the Act the metropolitan area was defined so as to include the whole of nine local municipalities, large parts of seven others and portions of another three. An "additional zone" was also established to extend approximately five miles in all directions beyond the first boundary and the corporation was given substantial control over planning and land use in the this area. In summary, the functions of the Metropolitan Corporation were stated as follows:

(a) Within the entire area:

- assessment on a uniform basis of all property
- planning, zoning, and building controls

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[1] A number of single purpose inter-municipal boards and commissions had been set up prior to the creation of Metro; the main ones were: Greater Winnipeg Water District (1913), Mosquito Abatement District (1927), the Greater Winnipeg Sanitary District (1935), the St. James-Winnipeg Airport Commission (1937), the Metropolitan Planning Commission (1949), the Metropolitan Civic Defence Board (1951) and the Greater Winnipeg Transit Commission (1953). Many of these organizations were disbanded and their functions transferred to Metro in 1960.

(b) Within the metropolitan area:

- water supply and wholesale distribution
- sewage (not including local collection) and land drainage
- arterial streets and bridges
- public transportation
- major parks and recreation areas
- civil defense
- mosquito abatement

The system of Metropolitan Government is of particular significance for this study. The statute provides for the government of the corporation by a council of ten members elected directly from ten metropolitan electoral divisions (see Metro Winnipeg Electoral Divisions Map on page 78). The actual boundaries were drawn by an independent commission who were required by the legislation to see that: "insofar as practicable, the divisions shall be so constituted that in five divisions, a majority of the electors are residents of the City of Winnipeg and in the other five divisions, a majority of the electors are not residents in that city." In the drawing of boundaries[2] no consideration was given to ethnic factors and, so far

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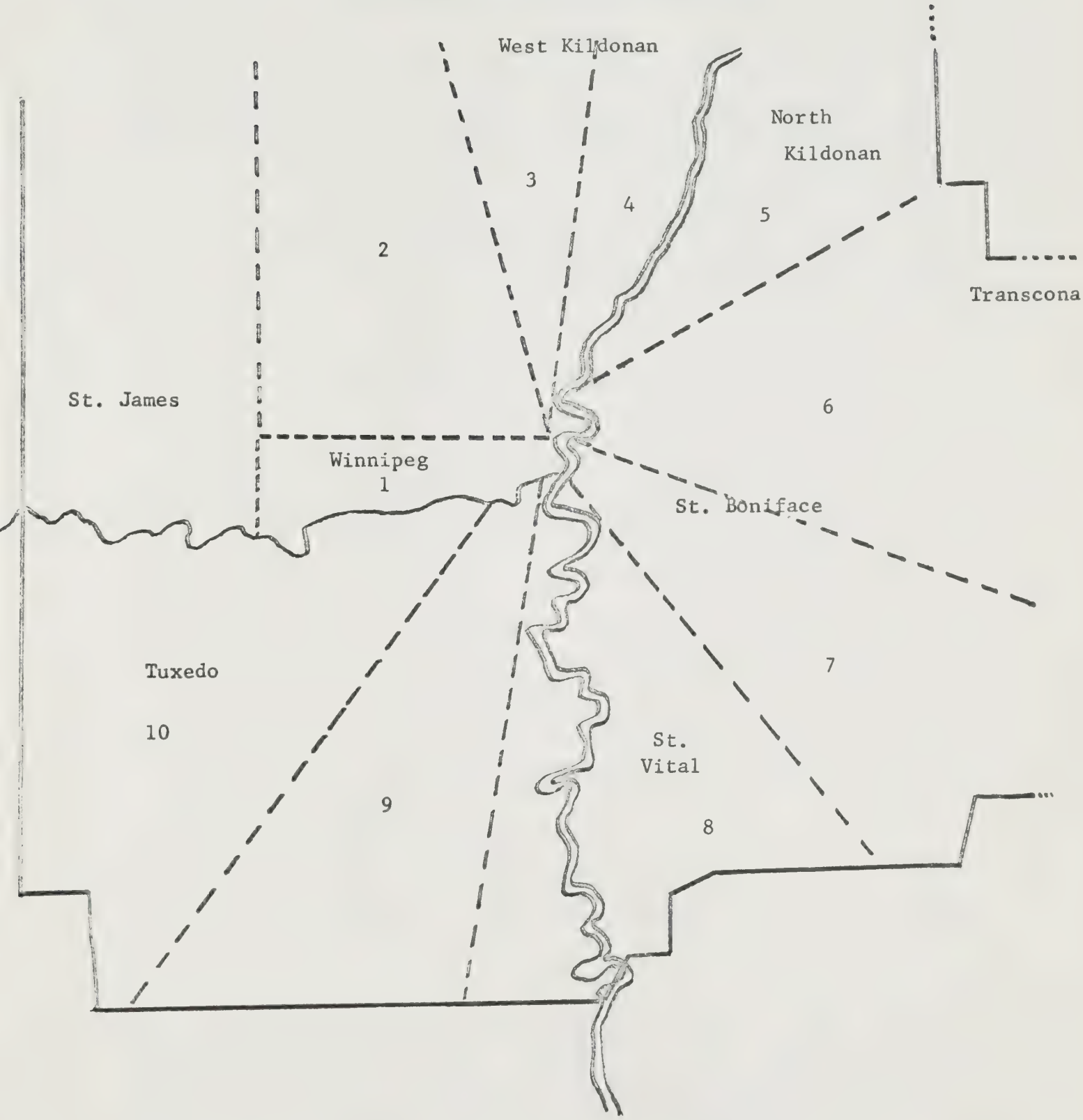
[2] In setting up the larger school units for secondary education in 1958, the boundary commission was specifically required to take ethnic concentrations into account. Such concentrations are also an important factor in the consolidation of existing primary school units and certainly would be important in any re-organization of the boundaries of rural municipalities.

METRO WINNIPEG ELECTORAL DIVISIONS



Division lines demonstrate only very roughly the principle used in setting up the 10 electoral Ward boundaries which cut across ethnic communities and Wards in Winnipeg and St. Boniface.

as can be discovered, no protests were lodged by ethnic groups. A protest might logically have come from St. Boniface, particularly in regard to the Ward system on which Metro elections are based. St. Boniface forms part of Division 5 which also includes a part of the City of Winnipeg and the rural Municipality of Springfield and Town of Transcona. There is no such thing as a St. Boniface representative on the Council. Why did St. Boniface accept this position? Partly because there was no choice, and partly as the lesser of two evils. When the creation of Metro was being considered, the official position of St. Boniface was that, while a need for co-ordination[3] of inter-municipal services did exist, the co-ordinating body ought to have a very restricted authority and ought to be composed of representatives of existing local councils. Winnipeg, on the other hand, urged total amalgamation of all surrounding suburban units into one big city and this was the line of thought that the French in St. Boniface feared and were prepared to oppose.

One notable fact about Metro is that more than fifty per cent of its employees are in the unskilled group while in the City of

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[3] In 1959, the City of St. Boniface submitted a brief to the Minister of Municipal Affairs, recommending: "the establishment of an Inter-Municipal Board having authority to deal with certain inter-municipal services". The clear intent of the brief was that only those services that were voluntarily relinquished by the participating municipalities should be transferred to the Inter-Municipal Board.

Winnipeg the percentage is approximately twenty-five. This difference arises from the nature of the tasks Metro has been assigned, many of which require large numbers of manual labourers. A second characteristic of the Metro Civic Service is that large numbers of its employees were transferred from the services of Winnipeg and other suburban municipalities and one would therefore expect the ethnic relationships to be similar. This, as the following Table shows, is actually the case, if account is taken of the higher proportion of manual workers.[4]

The central point about Metro of relevance to this study is that the organization cuts right across the old Ward systems which have been so important in producing ethnic 'representation' on the Winnipeg and St. Boniface Councils. To some extent, Metro may become the great 'unifier', so far, it has been given only limited authority.

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[4] For a further description of the Metro Civic Service, see Appendix I. As mentioned previously, a closer analysis of the service was not attempted as position classifications are still in a fluid state.

TABLE 1

BREAKDOWN OF EACH ETHNIC GROUP ACCORDING TO POSITION

(Metro)

Position	Ethnic Origin							
	Anglo-Saxon	%	French	%	Ukrainian	%	German	%
Unskilled Labour	325	(46)	72	(70)	140	(69)	53	(55)
Skilled Workers and Clerical	257	(36)	21	(20)	51	(25)	32	(33)
Supervisory, Foremen	74	(10)	5	(5)	12	(6)	8	(8)
Administrative	40	(6)	4	(4)	-	-	2	(2)
Dept. Heads	16	(2)	1	(1)	1	(.5)	1	(1)
TOTAL	712	1	103		204		96	

Conclusions

Ethnic relationships, as they pertain to municipal government and politics, make a particularly interesting study in the Winnipeg Metropolitan area. The area contains a microcosm of the French 'fact' or problem in Canada. It also has within it a remarkable diversity of racial groups; the most important of which have been discussed in preceeding sections. The degree to which these groups have participated in local government in one index of their place in the society and constitutes a partial answer to the question - 'melting pot or mosaic'.

In Winnipeg proper, it appears that the answer is neither a melting pot nor mosaic but a gradual working out of the problem in a way that has distinctive characteristics of its own. There is conclusive evidence that the civic service has developed from an Anglo-Saxon preserve to a multi-racial group in which ethnic origin is becoming to mean less and less. Position held in the civic service is becoming increasingly a function of age and education. As has already been indicated, ethnic origin does not have a significant relationship to the position held among those who have Grade 12 or better and plays a relatively unimportant role among those recruited in the last ten years. It seems likely that ethnic origin will eventually cease to play a part at all.

The City Council in Winnipeg illustrates a somewhat different point. There has been a very substantial degree of ethnic consciousness in Aldermanic elections but once a group has elected its candidate he becomes much more a prestige symbol than a representative. It is, therefore, something of a paradox that 'ethnic' candidates appear to owe their electoral success to an underlying group structure and organization. Ethnic groups that have no social, cultural, or educational organization have never been successful in Aldermanic elections. The French in Winnipeg have never organized and have never even nominated a candidate. This used to be true of the German group; however, they are now beginning to form their own organizations and to nominate candidates. The Jewish group are the most highly organized but the Ukrainians are not far behind. (It is estimated[5] that 80 Ukrainian organizations exist.) The City Council seems to illustrate a two-way process. Ethnic candidates are successful because of the differentiation as reflected in group organization but once elected they become part of a larger political process and, on one plane, are assimilated.

The St. Boniface Civic Service and Council are evidence of quite a different phenomenom, namely, the reaction of a French group, geographically isolated and without majority status, within their own City. The Civic Service seems to have made its own adjustment

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[5] Systematic research into these organizations is beyond the terms of reference of this study.

to the declining power of the French and, as it stands now, it's "bilingualism where necessary but not necessarily bilingualism". Conscious efforts have been made to balance the key positions between French and English and the service has operated with an amazing lack of friction. The Council is, and has been for many years, a faithful representation of the numerical status of French and English in the Wards. One characteristic of the French group in St. Boniface stands out - they have not organized as a group to the extent found among other ethnic groups. The explanation is two fold; they began in St. Boniface with majority status and they have, in the past, believed themselves to have constitutional protection for their most important rights. The majority status has gone and the constitutional protections have proven ineffective. There now seems to be a move among the French group to organize in much the same way as most of the other groups already have and this may mean that they are accepting some mid-point between "melting pot and mosaic".

The existence of Metro may have a great effect on the existing patterns of civic politics. Its Civic Service begins on a multi-racial basis. Its Council cuts across the geographical Ward boundaries and most of its ten members will, if the ethnic factor is operative at all, have to appeal to a number of groups. If the authority of Metro is extended, it may prove to be the great "leveller" and "mixer".

Perhaps the most striking characteristic noticed in this study is the almost complete absence (except for 1914-18) of tension and bitterness that has accompanied the many major adjustments between groups in civic affairs in Metropolitan Winnipeg.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

TABLE 1

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF MANITOBA

Ethnic Origin	1881		1901		1911		1921	
Anglo-Saxon	38,285	(58)	164,239	(64.4)	266,415	(57.7)	350,992	(57.5)
French	9,949	(15.1)	16,021	(6.3)	30,944	(6.7)	47,039	(6.7)
German	8,652	(13.1)	27,265	(10.7)	34,530	(7.5)	19,444	(3.2)
Jewish	18		1,514	(.6)	10,741	(2.3)	16,669	(2.7)
Ukrainian	-		-		-		44,129	(7.2)
Icelandic	773	(1.2)	-		-		11,043	(1.8)
Polish	24		4,976	(1.9)	12,310	(2.7)	16,594	(2.7)
Other	8,253	(12.5)	41,196	(16.1)	106,454	(23.1)	110,609	(18.1)
TOTAL	65,954		255,211		461,394		610,118	

Source: Census of Canada

TABLE 1

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF MANITOBA

Table 1, page 2

Ethnic Origin	1931		1941		1951		1961	
Anglo-Saxon	368,010	(52.6)	359,560	(49.3)	362,550	(46.7)	396,445	(43)
French	47,039	(6.7)	52,996	(7.3)	66,020	(8.5)	83,936	(9.1)
German	38,078	(5.4)	41,479	(5.7)	54,251	(7)	91,846	(10)
Jewish	19,341	(2.8)	18,879	(2.6)	18,840	(2.4)	18,898	(2)
Ukrainian	73,606	(10.5)	89,762	(12.3)	98,753	(12.7)	105,372	(11.4)
Icelandic	9,544	(1.4)	-		13,649	(1.8)	14,547	(1.6)
Polish	40,243	(5.7)	36,550	(5)	37,933	(4.9)	44,371	(4.8)
Other	104,278	(14.9)	130,478	(17.9)	124,545	(16)	166,271	(18)
TOTAL	700,139		729,744		776,541		921,686	

Source: Census of Canada

TABLE 2

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF ST. BONIFACE

Ethnic Origin	1881		1901		1911		1931	
French	971	(75.7)	1,484	(73.5)	3,443	(46)	4,814	(37.5)
Anglo-Saxon	300	(23.3)	335	(16.6)	2,961	(39.4)	5,653	(44.1)
German	3	(.2)	32	(1.1)	98	(1.3)	113	(.9)
Polish	-		-		38	(.5)	91	(.7)
Ukrainian	-		-		-		72	(.6)
Belgian	-		51	(2.5)	347	(4.6)	1,183	(9.2)
Other	9	(.7)	117	(5.8)	596	(8)	895	(7)
TOTAL	1,283		2,019		7,483		12,821	

TABLE 2

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF ST. BONIFACE

Table 2, page 2

Ethnic Origin	1931		1941		1951		1961	
French	5,962	(36.6)	6,922	(38.1)	10,217	(38.8)	14,404	(38.3)
Anglo-Saxon	6,772	(41.5)	7,005	(38.5)	9,693	(36.8)	13,116	(34.9)
German	258	(1.6)	361	(2)	750	(2.8)	1,800	(4.8)
Polish	476	(2.9)	516	(2.8)	772	(2.9)	1,144	(3)
Ukrainian	384	(2.4)	671	(3.7)	1,194	(4.5)	1,767	(4.7)
Belgian	1,502	(9.2)	1,427	(7.9)	1,500	(5.7)*	1,500	(4)*
Other	951	(5.8)	1,255	(6.9)	2,216	(8.4)	3,869	(10.3)
TOTAL	16,305		18,157		26,342		37,600	

Source: Census of Canada

* Rough approximation

TABLE 3

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF WINNIPEG

ETHNIC ORIGIN: (DBS) (NOT LANG)

Year	Anglo-Saxon	%	French	%	Ukrainian	%	German	%	Polish	%
1881	6,679	(83.6)	450	(5.6)	-	-	186	(2.3)	6	(.07)
1891	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1901	31,230	(73.8)	1,379	(3.3)	1,000	(2.3)	2,283	(5.4)	-	
1911	79,718	(58.6)	2,620	(1.9)	6,000	(4.4)	7,957	(5.8)	4,604	(3.3)
1921	120,569	(67.3)	3,984	(2.2)	12,000	(7)	4,762	(2.7)	5,696	(3.2)
1931	132,378	(60.5)	4,970	(2.3)	18,358	(8.4)	13,209	(6)	11,228	(5.1)
1941	130,394	(58.7)	6,969	(3.1)	22,578	(10.2)	12,170	(5.5)	11,024	(5)
1951	119,367	(50.6)	9,898	(4.2)	32,272	(13.7)	17,461	(7.4)	13,889	(5.9)
1961	113,615	(42.4)	13,945	(5.2)	35,975	(13.5)	30,249	(11.4)	16,574	(6.2)

TABLE 3

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF WINNIPEG

Table 3, page 2

Year	Jewish	%	Icelandic	%	Other	%	TOTAL
1881	4	(.05)	354	(4.6)	306	(3.8)	7,985
1891	-	-	-	-	-	-	25,639
1901	1,156	(2.7)	1,500	(3.5)*	3,792	(9)	42,340
1911	8,844	(6.5)	1,700	(1.2)*	24,592	(18.1)	136,035
1921	4,449	(8.1)	2,273	(1.3)	12,254	(7)	176,087
1931	17,236	(7.9)	3,500	(1.6)*	17,906	(8.2)	218,785
1941	17,027	(7.7)	3,800	(1.7)*	17,998	(8.1)	221,960
1951	15,552	(6.6)	3,800	(1.6)*	23,471	(10)	235,710
1961	11,690	(4.4)	4,100	(1.5)*	39,281	(14.8)	265,429

Source: Census of Canada

* Rough approximation

TABLE 4

ETHNIC COMPOSITION BY AGE GROUPS

(St. Boniface Civic Service)

Age	Ethnic Origin					
	Anglo-Saxon	%	French	%	Other	%
Under 21	-		9	(7)	7	(13)
21 - 39 Incl.	24	(53)	76	(58)	29	(56)
40 and over	21	(47)	45	(35)	18	(31)
TOTAL	45		130		54	

TABLE 5

BREAKDOWN ACCORDING TO ETHNIC ORIGIN

AND DURATION OF SERVICE

(St. Boniface Civic Service)

Ethnic Origin	10 Years or Less		Over 10 Years	
		%		%
Anglo-Saxon	26	(58)	19	(42)
French	96	(74)	34	(26)
Other	38	(70)	16	(30)

TABLE 6

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF METRO, 1961

Ethnic Origin	Population	%
Anglo-Saxon	213,964	(42.9)
French	39,777	(9.1)
German	50,206	(11.1)
Jewish	18,350	(2.1)
Polish	24,904	(4.8)
Ukrainian	53,918	(11.4)
Other	74,870	(15.7)
TOTAL	475,989	

Source: Census of Canada

TABLE 7

BREAKDOWN OF SELECTED ETHNIC GROUPS ACCORDING TO EDUCATION

(Metro Civic Service)

Education	Ethnic Origin							
	Anglo-Saxon	%	French	%	Ukrainian	%	German	%
Grade 8 or Less	172	(24)	43	(42)	65	(32)	29	(30)
Grade 9-11 (incl.)	411	(58)	50	(48)	108	(53)	55	(57)
Grade 12, Technical Training	101	(14)	8	(8)	26	(13)	9	(9)
University	28	(4)	2	(2)	5	(2)	3	(3)
TOTAL	712		103		204		96	

TABLE 8

BREAKDOWN BY ETHNIC ORIGIN

ACCORDING TO DURATION OF SERVICE

(Metro Civic Service)

Ethnic Origin	10 Years or Less	%	Over 10 Years	%
Anglo-Saxon	428	(60)	285	(40)
French	76	(74)	27	(26)
Ukrainian	145	(71)	59	(29)
German	76	(79)	20	(21)
Polish	24	(67)	12	(33)
Jewish	12	(63)	7	(37)
Icelandic	18	(62)	11	(38)
Italian	10	(71)	4	(29)
Others	62	(76)	20	(24)

TABLE 9

BREAKDOWN BY ETHNIC ORIGIN

ACCORDING TO AGE GROUPS

(Metro Civic Service)

Ethnic Origin	Under 21	%	21-39 (incl.)	%	40 & Over	%
Anglo-Saxon	78	(11)	247	(35)	387	(54)
French	5	(5)	40	(39)	58	(56)
Ukrainian	20	(10)	80	(39)	104	(51)
German	7	(7)	53	(55)	36	(37)
Polish	2	(5)	15	(42)	19	(53)
Jewish	4	(21)	7	(37)	8	(42)
Icelandic	2	(7)	15	(52)	12	(41)
Hungarian	-	-	-	-	-	-
Italian	-	-	8	(57)	6	(43)
Other	8	(10)	36	(44)	38	(46)

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St. Boniface Civic Records
Metro Personnel Records
Census of Canada

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

WINNIPEG, CANADA

The Royal Commission on Bilingualism is interested in finding out how the different ethnic groups have fitted into Canadian life. The Department of Political Science at the University of Manitoba is undertaking a survey of the Civic Service in the City of Winnipeg. It would be a great help if you would check one of the squares below and return this form in the enclosed envelope.

Please mark X in the square which follows your ethnic origin.

Anglo-Saxon	☐	German	☐
French	☐	Jewish	☐
Ukrainian	☐	Polish	☐
Icelandic	☐	Dutch	☐

Other ..... ☐

Sincerely,

M. S. Donnelly
Chairman
Dept. of Political Science
and International Relations

MSD:mc

Enc.

DATA SHEET I

ETHNIC STUDY OF WINNIPEG - ST. BONIFACE -

CIVIC EMPLOYEES

NAME	(1) A Ethnic Origin	(1) B Unknown	(2) Education	(3) Position Held	(4) Age Group	(5) 10 Years Service	REMARKS

Entries made in code.